

**DAVID KAUFMANN  
MEMORIAL VOLUME**







DAVID KAUFMANN  
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KELETI TANULMÁNYOK  
ORIENTAL STUDIES

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# DAVID KAUFMANN MEMORIAL VOLUME

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Oriental Collection  
Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Edited by  
ÉVA APOR



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David Kaufmann  
(1852 – 1899)

Painting by Izidor Thein

Art Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences





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## FOREWORD

It was a great honour and pleasure that a number of regular visitors to the Kaufmann Collection responded positively to our suggestion of convening a small conference to commemorate the centenary of David Kaufmann's sudden and unexpected death in 1899. Our idea was that lectures by a handful of scholars representing the various aspects of his wide-ranging scholarly interests as well as some of the fields covered by his collection of manuscripts and printed books, the Kaufmann Collection, would pay tribute to the memory and achievements of this outstanding scholar, who passed away in the prime of life depriving his contemporaries and posterity of the company of an admirable man and a long series of fundamental scholarly works. Inheritor of his priceless collection of manuscripts and printed books, the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, has always regarded it its sacred duty to keep Kaufmann's memory fresh. The conference was greeted by Ernő Marosi, Member of the Presidential Board of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, József Schweitzer, Chief Rabbi of Hungary and Alfréd Schöner, Rector of the Jewish Theological Seminary and University. The participants were honoured by the presence of the last active member of the Kaufmann family, Dr. Béla Bakonyi, Kaufmann's grand-nephew, at the conference. It was a great pleasure to listen to the contributions of Benjamin Richler, Abraham David, Tamás Bíró, Ida Fröhlich, Judit Szabados, Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, Evelyn M. Cohen, Emile Schrijver (not submitted for publication), Hermann I. Schmelzer (read in absentia), Ildikó Beöthy-Kozocsa and István Ormos. The following day, on a cold, sunny morning, the participants went to Salgótarjáni street and laid a wreath of remembrance on Kaufmann's grave in snow-covered Kerepesi cemetery and Chief Rabbi Schweitzer offered a prayer. They also paid a visit to the grave of Mrs. Kaufmann.

Éva Apor  
Head of the Oriental Collection



## GREETING ADDRESS TO THE CONFERENCE

Ernő Marosi

Member of the Presidential Board of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have the honour and great pleasure to welcome you to this noble House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. I was chosen by the Head of the Oriental Collection to fulfil the role of the host greeting you on behalf of the community of Hungarian scholars in my modest capacity as a member of the Presidential Board of our Academy.

I would like to express my gratitude to the organizers of this conference in this room to commemorate the centenary of the death of David Kaufmann, the great Hebraist and collector. You are at home in this palace, not only as his followers and interpreters of his rich heritage, recent representatives of international rank of his scholarly subject, but also by the right of his foundation.

The walls of this room, as well as the other rooms of our Art Collection, are decorated with the portraits of the founders, patrons and members of our Academy. You can see Count István Széchenyi here, whose noble donation in the Parliamentary Session of 1825 was the first important moment for the establishment of a Learned Society, when he devoted one year income to this purpose.

In another room, you can see Count József Teleki, who was the first President of the Academy and founder of the Library of the Academy, situated now in the neighbouring building. In the group of patrons and donators, David Kaufmann occupies a pre-eminent place. After his untimely death, in conformity with his intentions, his important collection of manuscripts and books was donated to our Academy. This collection is now a gem of the Oriental Collection, which is situated on the ground floor of this Neo-Renaissance palace built in the 1860s.

We commemorate now this patron and the past activities of our Academy, which was founded in the spiritual tradition of the Age of Enlightenment for the service of both Nation and Humanity, for the protection of sciences and humanities and with the exclusion of any social and religious discrimination. There were no discussions of faith among its members, who searched for a purely scientific approach in all the branches of the different disciplines. The Kaufmann Collection has always been a secluded island of scholarship. The scholars who continued to work in the spirit of

the founder – from Ignác Goldziher to the late Professor Alexander Scheiber – remained true to this tradition in the most demanding historical circumstances of the 20th century. This Oriental Collection remains an island of tolerance and of serious historical and philological research work. The term "humanities" has a double meaning: it is not only a pure scholarly term, but also has a moral sense. We can express our gratitude to this institution, which preserves these values.

It is a great pleasure for me personally that I was honoured to introduce this afternoon-session dealing mainly with the art-historical aspects of the Kaufmann Collection. I am an art historian and a medievalist myself, but I have to confess to you that I came to learn, not to contribute but with a slight word to the subjects which will be discussed here now. Medieval studies traditionally represent a strong branch of Hungarian art history, and the study of iconography enjoys a long and important tradition as well. We speak about a Budapest School of Iconography, which could be represented by the name of Andor Pigler.

But these iconographical studies were, and still are, mainly oriented towards traditional Christian and profane iconography and to studies in iconology. Only through journals are we informed of the new achievements in the archaeology and the history of Late Antiquity and of the discovery of the immense role of the ancient and medieval Jewish tradition. There is a lack of art historical research on the primary sources, which are present in a quite great number in the Kaufmann Collection. For instance, its famous Haggada-manuscript was only exceptionally discussed in an art historical context in Hungary. I could quote only one case here, the survey of Spanish medieval painting written by Tünde Wehli in 1980.

So, at first glance, the lectures in this session highlight a neglected field of our art historical studies, both in our universities and in our Academy of Sciences. Art historical studies in Hungary concentrate now on the Middle Ages and later periods, and research works on the cultural and linguistic background are very rare in our studies on the Ancient and Oriental World. The same is valid for the Sections of the Academy of Sciences. Here the Section of Letters and Linguistics is completely separated from the Section of Philosophy and History. The study of Antiquity and of Oriental cultures belongs to the First, archaeology and art history to the Second Section. In this way, their distance in methodology is increasing instead of moving towards a necessary integration. The Oriental Collection could be a model and a workshop for such an interdisciplinary collaboration.

Several years ago, we reconstructed the Art Collection of the Academy of Sciences. Sometimes we also have occasions for academic exhibitions. As a dream for the future, I could imagine an exhibition and a succinct catalogue of the art historical treasures of the Kaufmann Collection.

Returning to our present meeting, I cannot but express my gratitude again for having the honour to be in your learned circle and I am looking forward to your lectures with great expectations.



## REETING ADDRESS TO THE CONFERENCE

József Schweitzer

Retired and Honorary Rector of the Jewish Theological Seminary of Hungary  
Chief Rabbi of Hungary

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great honour for me to have been invited to deliver a lecture at the conference held to commemorate the 100th anniversary of David Kaufmann's death. To my sincere regret, feeble health prevents me from complying with this kind invitation. However, as the retired Rector of the Jewish Theological Seminary of Hungary, I consider it my sacred duty to express my deep respect and heartfelt thanks to the convenors, the presidium, the participants and the audience of the conference destined to conjure up the memory of David Kaufmann. He was a person of encyclopaedic learning, a true polymath. It fills us with admiration that in the course of his rather short life he published approximately 30 books and 500 articles, all of which possess lasting value in the various fields of Jewish studies. We can honestly state that the emergence of an unparalleled triumvirate among the first professors of our Seminary has been a unique phenomenon in the history of Jewish educational institutions all over the world. Its members set the scholarly course of the Seminary and determined its religious spirit. Along with Moses Bloch and Wilhelm Bacher, David Kaufmann, who can justly be regarded as a founder of a school of historians, was the third member of this unrivalled group. A whole series of his disciples were engaged as rabbis in the foundation of the scholarly discipline of the history of Hungarian Jewry, thereby achieving world-wide recognition. For Kaufmann, the research into Jewish history was not a dry scholarly task but he regarded it as a labour of love, a labour of especial devotion. In the area of the philosophy of religion he demonstrated – in addition to Greek and Arab influences – the presence of original ideas, with special respect to the purity of the idea of godhead. As a homilist, he professed the eternity of the spirit of Judaism and the perpetuity of its supreme mission. As a private person, he was a tradition-bound pious Jew. His name and life-work have crowned the Budapest Seminary with the aura of glory ever since. We bless his memory and follow the Talmud in declaring: "We are your disciples and draw from your well." Let me greet the conference once again wishing all participants fruitful days and success.



## REETING ADDRESS TO THE CONFERENCE

Alfréd Schöner

Rector of the Jewish Theological Seminary and University, Budapest

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is both a special privilege and an exceptional pleasure for me to greet the participants of this prestigious conference to commemorate the centenary of David Kaufmann's untimely death and to pay tribute to the scholarly achievements of this giant of Jewish learning in various fields of studies. He came from Moravia to Hungary, the country which then became his home for the rest of his tragically short life and where he not only displayed his manifold and exceptionally fruitful activities but also found personal satisfaction and happiness in a noble, highly educated family. Among the various scholarly fields he cultivated one of the most important was the history of Jewish art, of which he is often – and deservedly so – regarded as the founder. Since I am an art historian myself working in the same field, the name of Kaufmann evokes in me the unparalleled atmosphere of the acquaintance with his essential findings, his fundamental results involving matchless insights into the deeper nature of art, at the same time setting an example for scholars of all ages. But I am paying now tribute also to Kaufmann, the adored teacher of aspiring young men desiring to partake in the Jewish lore and wisdom of past and present, because Kaufmann was one of the first professors of the then newly opened Jewish Theological Seminary, which has only recently been transformed into a university under my rectorate. Kaufmann is one of our ideals and his example strengthens and inspires us in our everyday work. His noble figure will always be present among the walls of our venerable institution and both the high standard and the spirit of his works will always remain ideals to strive for before our eyes.

I have no doubt that the papers read at this prestigious assembly of scholars from all over the world will represent important contributions to the field of scholarship, and the conference itself will do honour to the memory of a great scholar and pious man.



## SOME OBSERVATIONS ON WEISZ'S CATALOGUE OF THE KAUFMANN COLLECTION

Benjamin Richler  
(Jerusalem)

The Kaufmann Collection of MSS in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences is renowned primarily for its holdings of a small number of very valuable MSS. First and foremost among them is the *Kaufmann Mishna*, MS Kaufmann A 50, probably the earliest complete copy of the entire text of the Mishna. The text of this MS is considered to be the most accurate of all existing MSS and it is the basis of all critical editions of the Mishna. If scholars in all fields of Judaica were requested to compile a list of the ten most important Hebrew MSS extant, I am certain that the Kaufmann MS would be among the few that would appear on every list. Two other well known MSS in the collection are illuminated MSS, the *Kaufmann Haggadah*, an illuminated Haggada written in Spain in the 14th century and the *Kaufmann Mishneh Torah*, an illuminated copy of Maimonides' book written in Cologne in 1295 or 1296.

The Kaufmann Collection, however, includes almost six hundred other MSS and is one of the fifteen largest collections of Hebrew MSS in the world. The only key or index to its holdings is the catalogue compiled by Max Weisz at the request of Kaufmann's wife in 1906, just before the collection was donated to the Academy.

Now, a catalogue of MSS can be a blessing or a curse; it can illuminate or hide. The best catalogues will of course accurately describe each and every treatise or fragment of a book included in the collection, in effect, bringing to light, or illuminating the contents of the library described. At the other extreme are catalogues that are so vague and so full of ambiguous descriptions that the reader realizes that he cannot rely on its descriptions and must examine the MSS himself in order to determine its true contents and, if the collection described indeed includes precious items, they will eventually be discovered by some curious researcher. The truly dangerous catalogues, those that hide the truth, are catalogues that give the impression that they provide complete descriptions of the MSS and acquire the trust of the reader, when in fact they gloss over treatises written in the MSS without mentioning them or provide mistaken identities to various works. If, for instance, a catalogue were to mistakenly describe an early unknown Targum on the Pentateuch as a 19th century copy of *Targum Onkelos*, it would effectually "bury" the MS, as few scholars, if any at all, would bother to consult

the MS when hundreds of much earlier copies of *Targum Onkelos* are extant. If the catalogue were to describe the MS as a late anonymous Targum, it would draw some attention and sooner or later would be correctly identified.

Weisz's catalogue does not fall into any of these categories; it falls into all of them. Standing on the shoulders of giants, in the words of the Talmudic proverb, it is easy to criticize the work of cataloguers of MSS of previous generations. We now have at our disposal bibliographies, catalogues and concordances that were not available a century ago, not to mention the union catalogue of almost all the Hebrew manuscripts in the world available at the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts (IMHM) in the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem now accessible on the internet, as well as the possibility to consult and compare all these MSS in one location. If we criticize Weisz's catalogue or point out errors it is not our intention to criticize the man or his efforts, merely to update his catalogue in the light of later research. As you will see, much of the criticism refers to his descriptions of kabbalah MSS which he described with only a meager bibliography available, well before Gershom Scholem and his successors began their critical research.

The Kaufmann Collection is particularly rich in Halakhic works by late medieval and early modern Italian Rabbis, over 120 MSS are described in the sections devoted to Halakhah, and thirty-five of them (nos.133-165, 581-2) include collections of responsa that are usually described in detail by Weisz on pp. 31-79 of his catalogue. Weisz listed most of the names of the responding Rabbis and often gave the dates of the responsa and sometimes the subjects, thus opening a veritable treasure house of important sources. These MSS have served and continue to serve students of 15-17th century Italian society. They were used extensively by Kaufmann himself and more recently by Y. Boksenboim, Y. Green in his work on the Trabot family, and M. Benayahu, to name only a few. It is to be regretted, however, that Weisz did not include the names of all the authors of the responsa in the index to the catalogue. By consulting the index and not browsing through the catalogue one may be lead to believe that no writings by certain Rabbis exist in the collection, when in fact they may be numerous. For instance, anyone searching for writings of R. Nethanel Trabot would find only two items in the index, his novellae on Psalms, Proverbs and Job and his ethical will. In fact, MS A 151 lists over thirty responsa, letters and novellae by Trabot and other items are found in MSS A 152, 155, 156, 158, 159 etc. Though Weisz tried to list all the responsa in each of the MSS he described, he permitted himself to write very brief descriptions of MSS that had already been described by Mortara in other publications and it sufficed him to refer the reader to Mortara's articles. So, there is no short cut to finding all that the Kaufmann Collection has to offer; one must not trust the index, the entire catalogue has to be perused and one must take the trouble to find the articles in which individual MSS from the collection were formerly described.



The Kaufmann Collection is fairly rich in Kabbalah MSS, especially of Lurianic Kabbalah and 17th century compositions, close to ninety MSS altogether. The accuracy of the descriptions in this section of the catalogue is, as may be expected in a book written before G. Scholem's research was published, quite deficient.

The third large group of MSS is that of the liturgical MSS, numbering close to one hundred, from no. 359 to 453. Included are MSS from most of the different rites, Sephardic, Ashkenazic and Italian, but the greatest number of MSS in this section derives from Yemen and most of them were purchased in Jerusalem from 1882-1884, and brought to Kaufmann in Budapest. Most of the MSS are described in brief and there is no list of piyyutim in the various MSS as there are in other catalogues of Hebrew MSS such as those in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the British Museum (now British Library) in London and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Until these MSS are catalogued in detail there is no way to determine how valuable they are for the research of Jewish liturgy.

One aspect that Weisz writes about in great detail is the illumination and ornamentation of the MSS. Whenever the catalogue describes an illuminated or decorated MS the description is long and exhaustive. All the illustrations in the MSS are described and Weisz pays attention to all the technical details. Over twenty pages are devoted to describing seven or eight illuminated MSS, one of which, a Passover Haggadah (no. A 422), the famous *Kaufmann Haggadah*, is described over six and a half pages. The equally famous Mishna MS is described in two words: "Mischna, vollstaendig". The codicological description of this MS extends over ten lines, six of which are devoted to a transcription of the ode Kaufmann wrote describing his joy on the acquisition of the MS. It is to be regretted, however, that no facsimiles or illustrations accompany the printed catalogue, which goes to such great lengths to describe the illuminations in so great detail.

A selection of the manuscripts from the Kaufmann Collection was copied on microfiche in 1959. The rest of the collection was microfilmed for the IMHM a short while later. The manuscripts are being catalogued by the staff of the IMHM but the task is not yet completed. We shall now proceed to list a few corrections to the Weisz catalogue based on the research carried out by the staff of the IMHM.

## Bible Commentaries

### Catalogue no. A 20

Described by Weisz as *Maskil Yavin*, an anonymous commentary on the Pentateuch. In reality, it is Moses b. Nahman's mystical commentary *Sodot ha-Torah*. The scribe thought that the expression *Maskil Yavin* used by Ramban was the title of the work, and Weisz followed in his footsteps.

Catalogue no. A 29

Weisz assumed that the *Sharh Esther* was compiled by Solomon b. Jeroham, author of the *Sharh Eikha*, which occupies the bulk of the MS, but in fact it is by Judah Meir Taurizi.

### **Talmud Commentaries and Halakha**

Catalogue no. A 52

Weisz listed only *Tosafot* by Rabbenu Peretz on TB Bava Mezia and *Tosafot Gornish* on Yevamot. These two works occupy ff. 1-158. Weisz did not record an anonymous 16th century commentary on *Tosafot* on TB Hullin on ff. 158v-190, some other novellae on the same tractate on ff. 190-193 and novellae on TB Ketubbot on ff. 194-275.

Catalogue no. A 55

The "anonymous" commentary on TB Shavuot is, in fact, by Moses b. Nahman.

Catalogue no. A 60

The treatise is not novellae by Samuel David Ottolenghi as Weisz writes, but Samuel Del Vecchio's *Tikkunei ha-Rif*.

Catalogue no. A 137

The responsa by R. Israel on ff. 1-20 and 197-558 are not by Israel Bruenn as Weisz surmised but by Israel Isserlein and are, in fact, a copy of Isserlein's *Terumot ha-Deshen*, part 2, paragraphs 69-267.

### **Kabbalah**

As we said earlier, the section on Kabbalah is the part of the catalogue most in need of revision due to the monumental studies by Gershom Scholem and his students and followers.

Catalogue nos. A 177-178

The treatise is not the work by Joseph Gikatilla bearing the same title but is Moses b. Nahman's *Iggeret ha-Kodesh*, sometimes also called *Sha'arei ha-Kodesh*.

Catalogue no. A 182

*Sefer ha-Peliah* is copied in this MS and not *Sefer ha-Kanah*. The scribe of the MS erred and called it *Sefer ha-Kanah* and Weisz repeated the mistake.

Catalogue no. A 183

Weisz called this treatise *Emunah Muhletet* but in fact it is the anonymous commentary on *Ma'arekhet ha-Elohut* (known as P"Z) found in many MSS.

Catalogue no. A 188

Weisz left out the ethical will, *Sefer ha-Zivui* erroneously attributed to Moses b. Maimon on pp. 95-99 and, more important, letters concerning the Maimonidean controversy on pp. 142-170.

Catalogue no. A 193

In general Weisz's descriptions of Lurianic kabbalistic MSS are not detailed. MS A 193, for instance, lists a collection of Vital's works which is very vague considering that Vital's opus runs into thousands of pages.

Catalogue no. A 194

Weisz described the MS as Hayyim Vital's *Ez Hayyim*. In his catalogue he transcribed the opening sentence of the work and repeated it when he described MS A 235 but made no reference from one MS to the other. He described MS A 235 as a commentary on Kabbalah in two volumes and did not connect it with MS A 194, *Ez Hayyim*. In fact both MSS contain *Sefer ha-Beriah* by the Shabbatean Nathan of Gaza. MS A 194 contains the first part, and MS A 235 is another copy of both parts of the work.

Catalogue no. A 206

Once again in a description of a Lurianic Kabbala, Weisz lists the first work *Lehem min ha-Shamayim* which extends until p. 118 in the MS but neglects to describe Isaac Luria's *kavvanot* which are copied on ff. 123-208 in the MS. He may have considered them part of the first treatise.

Catalogue no. A 208

Here Weisz describes an anonymous treatise on the commandments as a mystical list of the commandments. In fact it is a work called *Ta'amei ha-Mizvot* attributed to Joseph Gikatilla or Isaac Farhi, a work that exists in many other MSS. Weisz is not at fault, of course. The treatise was not properly described nor its author identified for several decades after he completed the catalogue.

Catalogue no. A 221

Weisz listed this MS as *Meorot Natan*, but, in fact, only the first nine pages are from the beginning of this work and the bulk of the MS, pp. 10-682, are from Hayyim Vital's *Mevo She'arim*.

Catalogue no. A 229

Described as an anonymous kabbalistic work, the treatise is Samuel Gallico's *Assis Rimmonim* (until ch. 31).

Catalogue nos. A 230-232

These three MSS contain works by the Shabbatean Abraham Miguel Cardozo (1626-1706), born in Spain to a Marrano family who returned to Judaism in his twenties after leaving for Italy. He had studied medicine and worked for a while as a physician, but later began a life of wandering which led him to Tunis and Constantinople. He was attracted to the messianism of Shabbetai Zevi and composed many tracts in which he developed a personal system of theology. His works are extant in many MSS found in various libraries. However, because these three Kaufmann MSS were never properly identified in print – Weisz even characterized the Sefardic-Oriental script of the MSS as Yemenite – scholars never referred to them in their studies of Cardozo. Gershom Scholem, apparently, was not aware of their existence, and, even Nissim Yosha, who wrote an MA thesis on Cardozo's theology which was submitted in 1985, failed to list the Kaufmann MSS in his bibliography, even though the MSS were identified and entered in the IMHM card-catalogue in 1979.

Catalogue no. A 230

Weisz lists the correct name of the work *Derushei ha-Kinnuim* but failed to identify the author, Abraham Cardozo. This is hardly surprising as this work exists in only one other MS in the Jewish Theological Seminary Library in New York, and at the time Weisz was compiling his catalogue the work was unknown. In the list of Cardozo's writings in the article on him in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, which was published while Weisz was compiling his catalogue, no mention is made of this work. It was published from the JTS MS by Gershom Scholem in 1933 (*Abhandlungen zur Erinnerung an Hirsch Perez Chajes*, Vienna 1933, pp. 324-50). Needless to say, Scholem was not aware that another MS existed in the Kaufmann Collection.

Catalogue no. A 231

Another volume of *derushim* (homilies) by Cardozo including *Derush ha-Ikkarim* and *Derush Amen*, which Weisz listed as anonymous works.

Catalogue no. A 232

Weisz correctly listed the title of *Derush Boker de-Avraham* written on pp. 37-143 of this MS, but not the author Cardozo.

Catalogue no. A 236

The mystical commentary on the *Merkavah* found on pp. 1-108 of this MS is by the kabbalist Jacob b. Jacob ha-Kohen. This work is found in over thirty other MSS.

Catalogue no. A 246

Described vaguely by Weisz as a collection of practical Kabbalah, pp. 3-17 contain extracts from an important magical treatise attributed to the 1st century philosopher Apollonius of Tyana (called Balinas in Arabic). Moshe Idel identified this treatise as *Sefer Melekheth Muskhélet* based on quotations in the writings of Jochanan Alemanno, a 16th century Jewish mystic and philosopher residing in Italy. Idel identified extracts of this work, which is of great importance for the study of the occult in Renaissance Italy, in two MSS, one in the Bar Ilan Library and the other in the Kaufmann Collection. The copy in the Kaufmann MS was obviously written in the characteristic script of the scribe and scholar Raphael Solomon Prato, who was connected to one of Alemanno's patrons, the wealthy banker, Jehiel Pisa.

Catalogue no. A 254

This important compilation of letters and treatises concerning the Shabbateans also includes, on pp. 395-407, a *derush* by Cardozo, *Derush Megalleh Amukot*, and the name of the author Cardozo is plainly written in Latin characters in the heading. For some reason, Weisz ignored the attribution and listed the treatise by its title as an anonymous work.

Catalogue no. A 259

Weisz's description of this MS includes only a selection of the treatises in the MS. Among those he neglected to include or to identify the author: Abraham Gikatilla's *Sefer ha-Nikkud* (pp. 51-64), the beginning of Abraham Abulafia's *Or ha-Sekhel* (pp. 64-66; 133-140), and part of his *Imre Shefer* (pp. 109-132; 165-168), Ibn Ezra's *Sefer Moznaim* (150-157) and a unique MS of Yom Tov Lippman Muelhausen's commentary on Job and his commentary on *Sefer Yezirah* (bound together on pp. 211-239).

## Philosophy

Catalogue nos. A 266=289

The same MS, a collection of various treatises, mainly popular philosophical and ethical texts, is described twice by Weisz, once in entry no. A 266 and again in no. A 289. The two descriptions are similar but not identical.

Catalogue no. A 290

This treatise, a critique of philosophy, was described by Weisz as an anonymous work. Gershom Scholem identified the author, Joseph Ashkenazi, in his article in *Tarbiz*, 28 (1959) from an Oxford MS, which Neubauer catalogued as an anonymous work. Needless to say, Scholem did not mention this MS.

Catalogue no. A 294

Weisz did not identify the author of the book *Zekut Adam*, as David Rocquemartine.

### Liturgy

Catalogue nos. A 371 and A 383

A Siddur in two parts. No. A 383 is the running continuation of no. A 371, which ends with the first words of the Ma'ariv service *ve-hu rahum*. No. A 383 begins with the word that follows: *Barkhu*. The script and the decorations and illustrations in both parts are identical and the name of the scribe Abraham is pointed out in both volumes. Both volumes belonged to Frau R. Gomperz, Kaufmann's mother-in-law.

Perhaps Weisz can be blamed for not noticing that the two MSS he had described complemented each other. However, he could hardly have known of another example of a Kaufmann MS that was separated from a manuscript in another collection.

MSS Montefiore 129 and 130 (formerly Halberstam 48-49) are two parts of a collectanea of over forty short works mainly on Halakha. Today, the MSS comprise 282 ff. The MS seems to have been written in the 15th century and its folios were numerated in Hebrew by a later hand, probably around 1600. The first part includes ff. 1-158 (6 ff. are missing) and the second part includes ff. 160-175 and 219-333. The MS was acquired by Halberstam in 1864 or earlier as Nathan Coronel published parts of *Sefer Amarcal* from this MS in his *Hamisha Kuntresim* and signed the introduction in early 1864.

MS Kaufmann A 76 includes two Halakhic works, *Piskei Tosafot* and the first part of *Sefer Amarcal*. The MS includes ff. 177-218 according to the Hebrew numeration, almost all the folios missing in the Halberstam MS between ff. 175 and 219. Kaufmann acquired this MS in 1887 according to his note at the beginning, which means that these quires must have been separated from the main part of the MS for at least twenty-five years. The *Sefer Amarcal* begins on f. 218v and someone noted on that page that Coronel had already published the continuation. Weisz, however, could not have known for certain that the Kaufmann MS was in fact part of the Halberstam MS complementing it at this point perfectly. One of the readers at the IMHM, Dr. Simcha Emmanuel, recently discovered this affiliation and brought it to our attention.

## Mathematics and Astronomy

Catalogue no. A 507

Collection of astronomical and mathematical treatises. Weisz described the works on ff. 1-27 as *Sefer ha-Goralot*, Book of Lots, when in fact, they include two works on arithmetic. The next work, described by Weisz as astronomical tables by David Kalonymus, is David b. Jacob Meir Kalonymus' translation of John Simon of Zeeland's *Mar'ot ha-Kokhavim*. Other works not properly identified in the collection are an explanation of the astrolabe in forty chapters (pp. 144-185) and Gerard of Sabbioneta's *Iyyun be-Kokhavim ha-Shiva* (pp. 116-141).

Catalogue no. A 508

Described as a collection of astronomical treatises by Kalonymus b. David and a work by Immanuel b. Jacob Bonfils. The description in the IMHM includes twenty-four separate treatises, many of them short works by Kalonymus, by David b. Jacob Meir Kalonymus, by Hayyim b. David Kalonymus and others, among them by Ibn Merwan, John of Regimontanus (Koenigsberg), Mordecai Finzi, Abu Merwan and other anonymous authors.

## Poetry

Catalogue no. A 549/3

Described as an anonymous work on medicine, the only work copied in the MS is *netiv* 4 from *Shevilei Emunah* by Meir Aldabi.

Catalogue nos. A 550-551

The anonymous comedy listed in Weisz's description of these two MSS is Judah Sommo's *Zahut Bedihuta de-Kiddushin* generally considered the first play written in Hebrew. It was published by Jefim Schirmann.

## Varia

Catalogue nos. A 554-555

The treatise on the Temple and the Temple services is by Malkiel Ashkenazi. It was printed from MS Mantua ebr. 57 by Abraham Sofer in his edition of Moses Cases' commentary on the tractate Middot of the Mishna.



Catalogue no. A 584

Described as an anonymous collection of novellae on the Talmud, this MS contains novellae by Rafael Israel Kimhi and the author's comments on Maimonides' *Sefer ha-Mizvot* entitled *Einei Yisrael*.

Catalogue no. A 586

Described in two words as a collection of letter forms, the volume includes copies of letters mostly by Solomon b. Isaac ha-Levi in Hebrew and Ladino, some of them sent to Palestine, and some letters by Isaac b. Solomon ha-Levi. The letters were written in the 17th century. The MS includes 268 pp. The last 50 pp. include responsa and homilies in another, later hand.

\* \* \*

The Kaufmann Library includes an important collection of over six hundred Genizah fragments. These fragments served scholars from all fields and from all over the world in their research, but they were not included in Weisz's catalogue except for a brief entry, nos. A 592-594, which simply mentions that these numbers include Genizah fragments. Several partial catalogues of the Genizah fragments in particular fields such as Aramaic targum and piyyut do exist but to date no comprehensive catalogue has been compiled. Two years ago, the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences approached the IMHM with a proposal to compile just such a catalogue. With the cooperation of the Library of the Hungarian Academy, which provided new microfilm copies of the Kaufmann Genizah fragments and will undertake to publish the catalogue, and the Israel Academy of Humanities and Sciences, which has provided the IMHM with a copy of their descriptions of the poetry and liturgical fragments, a new, comprehensive catalogue is being prepared. The catalogue is being edited by Dr. Ezra Chwat of the IMHM, who was unable to accept the invitation to attend this conference for personal reasons. The first draft of this catalogue is ready and we hope that it will be submitted for publication in the near future.

# HISTORICAL SOURCES IN THE KAUFMANN COLLECTION: THE CASE OF THE EXPULSION FROM THE PAPAL STATES (1569)\*

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As a historian with a particular interest in sixteenth-century Italian Renaissance Jewry, I have found David Kaufmann's Hebrew manuscript collection to be an invaluable research tool with its some six hundred codices, most of which Kaufmann purchased in Italy, touching upon all aspects of Hebrew culture. As a staff member of the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts at the National and University Library, Jerusalem, I have been privileged to catalogue a large part of this collection. In the course of my work on material from the Kaufmann Collection I have found several dozen anthologies of letters, known in modern Hebrew as *iggeronim*, or *epistolaries* in English. And as you shall see today, these *iggeronim* can serve as a vital historical source.<sup>1</sup>

Let me describe these anthologies. By and large, they are compilations of model letters chosen from various spheres of Jewish life for use as correspondence textbooks. Their editors, who earmarked these letters for educational purposes, and also for teaching Hebrew and appropriate literary style, omitted many of the identifying details found in the originals: dates, names of people or places. Even in the absence of identifying details, however, these correspondence textbooks, whose sixteenth-century representatives alone number in the thousands, are of great historical value. They form an untapped treasure trove of prime archival material that contributes greatly to our understanding of various aspects of Jewish life, especially in Renaissance Italy.

The great historical value of these *iggeronim* was first recognized more than a century ago by David Kaufmann himself. Although used for certain studies of Jewish life in Renaissance Italy in the past, there is currently a much greater interest in the discovery and publication of these collections for the purposes of historical research.

\* Published in a slightly different version: *The Expulsion from the Papal States (1569) in Hebrew Sources*. In: *The Most Ancient of Minorities – The Jews in Italy*. Ed. by S. G. Pugliese. Westport-London 2002. 91-99.

<sup>1</sup> On the *iggeronim* see: YACOV BOKSENBOIM, *Iggerot Beit Carmi*. Tel-Aviv 1983. 9-15; DOV RAPPEL, *Hebrew Epistolaries* (in Hebrew) = *Mehkerei Yerushalayim be-Sifrut 'Ivrit* 13(1992) 119-135.

I cannot proceed without mentioning the work of Jacob Boksenboim, who has published five volumes of these works over the past twenty years.<sup>2</sup> The material upon which the remainder of my lecture is based comes mainly from *iggeronim* and from halakhic responsa, some of which I have recently published.

I want to concentrate on one major issue in the history of Italian Renaissance Jewry – the Expulsion from the Papal States in 1569. The recent discovery of letters, many of which come from the Kaufmann Collection, sheds light on this traumatic event. Unlike the anti-Jewish edicts of Pope Paul IV, which were issued in 1555,<sup>3</sup> the expulsion of the Jews from the Papal States in 1569 left surprisingly little impact on contemporary Hebrew literature. Historians cannot say why so little material has survived. Hence the great importance of the new information from *iggeronim* and responsa literature.

### Background

Pius V was appointed pope in early 1566. Shortly thereafter,<sup>4</sup> in a special bull issued on 19 April 1566 (*Romanus Pontifex*),<sup>5</sup> he renewed the anti-Jewish edicts of Pope Paul IV (1555-1559). Thus, he cancelled all the mitigating measures of his predecessor Pius IV (1559-1566). Regarding these edicts, Hebrew sources single out the "badge of shame" (the obligation to wear yellow hats), the forced ghettoization, and the great economic harm caused by the exclusion of Jews from banking, that is, from lending at interest.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See: YACOV BOKSENBOIM, *Iggerot Beit Carmi*. Tel-Aviv 1983; *Iggerot Rabbi Yehudah Arie Mi-Modena*. Tel-Aviv 1984; *Iggerot Melamdin*. Tel-Aviv 1985; *Iggerot Beit Rieti*. Tel-Aviv 1987; *Iggerot Yehudei Italia*. Jerusalem 1994.

<sup>3</sup> Paul IV ruled between 1555-1559. Much has been written on his attitude towards Judaism and the Jewish people. See: ISAIAH SONNE, *Mi-Paulo ha-Revi'i 'ad Pius ha-Hamishi*. Jerusalem 1954. 19-93, 139-164. (Hereafter: SONNE, *Mi-Paulo*); ARIEL TOAFF, *Nuova luce sui Marrani di Ancona* (1556). In: *Studi sull'Ebraismo italiano in memoria di Cecil Roth*. A cura di Elio Toaff. Rome 1974. 261-280; KENNETH R. STOW, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy 1555-1593*. New York 1977. (Hereafter: STOW, *Catholic Thought*).

<sup>4</sup> Pius V ruled between 1566-1572. See: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*. VIII. Freiburg 1963. 531-532.

<sup>5</sup> This bull has been published in *Magnum Bullarium Romanum*. VII. Torino 1862. 438-439.

<sup>6</sup> On his edicts against the Jews, see: STOW, *Catholic Thought*, index. On this point we can also obtain information from several Hebrew sources, see: ABRAHAM DAVID, *Nuovi documenti sull'espulsione degli ebrei dallo Stato della Chiesa (1569)* (in Hebrew) = *Italia* 10(1993). 17. (Hereafter: DAVID, *New Documents – Italia*); Idem, *The Expulsion from the Papal States*.

Upon realizing that his measures were ineffective because the Jewish population was scattered throughout the Papal States, Pius V took more drastic steps. On 26 February 1569 he issued the bull *Hebraeorum gens*<sup>7</sup>, which called for the expulsion of all the Jews from the cities of the Papal States within three months. As a result of this edict, the ancient Jewish communities of central Italy located within the area of the Papal States almost entirely disappeared. The exception was Urbino, an independent duchy within the region of the Papal States, which refused to accept papal authority. Although excluded from the decree, the Jews of Rome and Ancona were forced to reside in ghettos. Many of the expellees sought refuge both in the Duchy of Urbino and in Rome and Ancona. They also took refuge in cities in Italian principalities outside of the Papal States, including Ferrara, Mantua, Pesaro, and cities in the Milan, Romagna, and Tuscany regions. Others made their way to the East: to the Balkans, Turkey, and Eretz-Israel.<sup>8</sup>

### The Expulsion in Hebrew Sources

Although a turning-point in Italian Jewish history in the second half of the sixteenth century, this event seems to have left little impression on its contemporaries. With the exception of the historiographical works of Joseph ha-Kohen and Gedalyah ibn Yahya, we find few traces of it in contemporary Hebrew chronicles.

It is to these accounts that I now turn. Even these contemporary reports devoted little space to the description of the expulsion and its results. I begin with Joseph ha-Kohen's report found in the third (as yet unpublished) part of his *Divrey ha-Yamim le-Malkhey Sarfat u-Malkhey Beyt Ottoman ha-Tugar*:

5329. ותהינה כל מחשבות פיו שר"י [שם רשעים ירקב] להרע לבני ישראל כל היום ויגרש את כל היהודים אשר בערי הבמה בשנה ההיא בחדש מאיו והוא החדש השלישי, ויתנפלו ראשי העדות לפני רגליו להשיבו ממחשבתו הרעה הזאת ולא יכולו, כי כפתן חרש לא אבה שמוע ויצאו מאתו בחורי אף. וברומה העיר לכדה ואנקונה השאיר להם שארית בארץ וישבו שם עד היום הזה. ויושבי יתר הערים יצאו לגור בכל אשר ימצאו, איש לדרכו פנו נדדו הלכו.

<sup>7</sup> This bull has been published in *Magnum Bullarium Romanum*. VII. Torino 1862. 740-741.

<sup>8</sup> See: SONNE, *Mi-Paulo*. 204-214; Daniel CARPI, *L'espulsione degli ebrei dallo Stato della Chiesa al tempo di Pio V e i processi contro gli ebrei di Bologna* (in Hebrew). In: *Scritti in memoria di Enzo Sereni*. Jerusalem 1970. 145-165; Yacov BOKSENBOIM (ed.), *Iggerot Melammedim*. Tel-Aviv 1985. 272-279; Idem, *Iggerot Yehudei Italia*. Jerusalem 1994. 279-283; Abraham DAVID, *New Documents Concerning the History of Italian Jewry under the Shadow of Sixteenth Century Catholic Reaction* (in Hebrew) = Tarbiz 49(1980) 376-383 (Hereafter: DAVID, *New Documents* – Tarbiz); Idem, *New Documents* – Italia. 17-36.

5329. All the thoughts of Pius, may his evil name rot, were constantly how to do harm to the Jews. He expelled all the Jews in the Papal States in the month of May of that year, the third month [after the decree]. The heads of the [Jewish] communities fell at his feet to turn aside his evil plan, without any success. Like a deaf adder he refused to listen and they departed angrily. Only in the city of Rome and in Ancona did he leave them a small refuge, and there they reside to this day. The inhabitants of the rest of the cities settled wherever they could each one going his own way.<sup>9</sup>

In his *Shalsholet ha-Qabbalah*, the well-known historian Gedalyah ibn Yahya gave a personal slant to his brief description of the events:

[בשנת שכ"ה [צ"ל: שכ"ו] הוקם על מעלת האפיפירות קרדינאל אליסנדריו שקראו שמו פיו ה' וצוה שהכובע יהיה יילו אינפטיה כקש, ואחר כך צוה שבמשך ג' חדשי' כל ישראל יצאו ממלכותו בקצם אבידת הגוף והממון, וכן נעשה שלא נשאר פרסה, זולת מעטים שהמירו, ויהי כמו אלף בעל בתים שיצאו ונשאר רוב נכסיהם שם כי לא יכלו להביאם. וידל ישראל מאד מאד, כי נשארו שם הלוואתם, ואני לבדי נשאר לי באימולה ורוינה יותר מעשרת אלפים זהב של אמנות.

In [5]325 [should read 5326] an Alessandrian cardinal became Pope; he was called Pius V. He commanded that the [Jewish] hat be yellow, the color of straw. He later ordered that all Jews leave his kingdom within a three-month period at the penalty of loss of life and property. And so it came to pass that not a Jew was left, except for a few who converted. Some one thousand householders left, leaving most of their property behind because they could not take it with them. And the Jews became extremely impoverished, for their loans were left behind. I myself held promissory notes for more than ten thousand pieces of gold in Imola and Ravenna.<sup>10</sup>

From his concluding remarks it seems that Gedalyah ibn Yahya was forced to leave the towns of Imola and Ravenna in the Papal States, leaving a substantial sum behind in the form of "promissory notes for more than ten thousand pieces of gold." Elsewhere Ibn Yahya writes that he was residing in Pesaro, in the Duchy of Urbino, as early as 1567. It seems that he was forced from his hometown two years before the official expulsion, perhaps as a result of Pius V's renewal of Pope Paul IV's anti-Jewish measures.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Joseph HA-KOHN, *Divrei ha-Yanim le-Malkhei Sarfat u-Malkhei Beit Ottoman ha-Tugar*. P. 3: MSS British Library, London, Or. 3656, 178v; Or. 10387 (Gaster 1071), 465v; *Emeq ha-Bakha*, see the edition of Karin Almbladh. Uppsala 1981. 95.

<sup>10</sup> GEDALYAH IBN YAHYA, *Shalsholet ha-Qabbalah*. Venice 1587. 117.

<sup>11</sup> See: DAVID, *New Documents – Italia*. 18-19.

A later Hebrew source, dating from the early seventeenth century, also mentions the expulsion. This source – the anonymous corrector of Joseph ha-Kohen's *'Emeq ha-Bakha* – raises two additional points not found in the earlier accounts: (1) Before issuing the expulsion order, the Pope consulted with his close advisers, the cardinals. The cardinals, fearing the harmful effects of the expulsion, advised against it. The Pope, however, rejected their advice. (2) The Pope accepted the appeal of the rulers of Ancona to exclude this city from the expulsion decree because of the central role the Jews played in the economy of this port city. The text follows:

ויעש עצה וידבר על לב החשמנים לגרש את כל היהודים מעל פני כל ארץ הרומניאה, ויאמרו אליו לא נכון לעשות כן, כי מלכות קטיעא תקרא, והוא אמר להם ונבא מלכא ולא אייתי אינש וימחי ביד, ויצו ויעבירו קול בכל ערי מלכותו כי בזמן ג' חדשים כל אשר בשם ישראל יכונה יצאו מכל ערי מלכותו, רומא לבדה לא תצא בגולה, גם אנקונה בכלל הגזרה, וילכו שמה יושבי אנקונה ושריה, ויאמרו אליו כח להנאתו ולטובתו ישאיר היהודים כי כלם בעלי סחורה, ויש לו הכנסה גדולה מהם, כי יש להם עסק וסחורות בכל הארצות ובארץ התוגר, ובכל הסחורות ההם יש ליהודים יד ושם, וישא את פניהם. ויצאו כל צבאות ה' מכל ארץ הרומניאה, ויפוצו בפירארה ומנטובה, פיזאר ואורבינו, ובכל ארצות הטושקאנה ובגליל המילאניז, ויעזבו בתיהם שדותיהם וכרמיהם נהפכו לזרים, ואוהלים כמה בזבזו להם למכרם בפחות מחצי דמיהם וידל ישראל מאד.

He held a council and suggested to the cardinals that all the Jews be expelled from the Romagna region. They advised him not to do so, saying it would bring harm to the kingdom. He replied: "I am the ruler and no one may oppose my power." Upon his orders it was announced in all the cities of his kingdom that in three months' time every Jew must leave all the cities of his kingdom, with the exception of Rome. Even Ancona was included in the decree. The people and nobles of Ancona went to him, declaring that it was to his advantage and profit to leave the Jews there because they controlled trade and he received a great deal of revenue from them due to their trade with other countries and with Turkey. Because of this trade the Jews had an excellent reputation and he yielded to their request. Then all the Jews left Romagna and scattered over Ferrara, Mantua, Pesaro, and Urbino, and all the cities of Tuscany as well as in the region of Milan. They left their houses, and their fields and vineyards fell to strangers; they offered their residences as they were for less than half their worth. And the Jews were impoverished.<sup>12</sup>

Additional Hebrew sources, including documents preserved in several Jewish communal archives, contemporary responsa, and at least two dozen letters, reflect the

<sup>12</sup> *'Emeq ha-Bakha*. 100.

aftermath of the expulsion order.<sup>13</sup> These documents describe the efforts of the Jews from the Papal States to find refuge in other Italian cities. They also shed light on the emergency fund-raising campaign to assist their resettlement initiated by the leaders of the Jewish communities outside the Papal States. Most of the related sources deal with the adjustment of the expellees to their new homes. The Jews of Rome, Ancona, Mantua, Ferrara, and Pesaro, for example, made every effort to assist in the absorption of the refugees in Italy and/or to provide financial aid to those who wished to leave Italy and settle in Ottoman lands. These efforts continued for several years after the expulsion.

Five undated documents, taken from two *iggeronim*, were published by David Kaufmann from his own collection (MSS Kaufmann A 491, A 492, A 493),<sup>14</sup> who mistakenly assigned them to the anti-Jewish decrees of Pope Paul IV in 1555. Careful examination of these documents indicates that they belong to the later episode of the expulsion of the Jews from the Papal States, as Heinrich Graetz has shown.<sup>15</sup> These five documents reflect the intensive efforts by the Jewish communities of Mantua and Pesaro, which were not under the control of the Pope, to assist their fellow Jews by fund-raising efforts in other Italian-Jewish communities outside the Papal States. The purpose of the funds was to enable "six hundred" refugees from the Papal States "presently" in Mantua and an unspecified number of refugees in Pesaro to sail east to lands under Ottoman rule, including Eretz-Israel.

In addition to this material, I have discovered and published more than a dozen letters from various manuscripts located in different collections, including seven from the Kaufmann Collection.<sup>16</sup> These letters shed light on the condition of the Jews from the Papal States in the aftermath of the expulsion and on their resettlement in various locations in Italy and elsewhere. Most of the letters treat the monetary difficulties that prevented the provision of proper assistance to the refugees either to settle within Italy or to sail for points East. Several examples follow:

One letter (MS Kaufmann A 504) was addressed to the *parnassim* and the heads of the holy congregation of Urbino by the communal leaders of Pesaro in February 1571, about two years after the expulsion.<sup>17</sup> The correspondents asked for the

<sup>13</sup> These have been published by David Kaufmann (see below) and Abraham David, see: DAVID, *New Documents* – Tarbiz. 376-383; Idem, *New Documents* – Italia. 17-36.

<sup>14</sup> Two letters have been published by David KAUFMANN, *Les Marranes de Pesaro* = *Revue des Études Juives* 16(1888) 71-72. These letters are preserved in two MSS in the Kaufmann Collection: MS Kaufmann A 491, nos. 33-34, pp. 73-74; MS Kaufmann A 492, nos. 40-41, pp. 28-29. Three other letters have been published by David KAUFMANN, *Contributions à l'histoire des Juifs en Italie* = *Revue des Études Juives* 20(1890) 70-72. These letters are kept in the Kaufmann Collection: MS Kaufmann A 493, nos. 87, 91, 170, pp. 37, 39, 68-69.

<sup>15</sup> Heinrich GRAETZ, *Geschichte der Juden*. IX<sup>3</sup>. Leipzig 1891. 372, no. 2

<sup>16</sup> See: DAVID, *New Documents* – Tarbiz. 381-383; Idem, *New Documents* – Italia. 20-21, 28-35. (MSS Kaufmann A 494, A 504).

<sup>17</sup> See: DAVID, *New Documents* – Tarbiz. 381-383.



cooperation of the leaders of the Urbino community in finding solutions for the safe resettlement of the refugees now living in Pesaro. The writers noted that they were unable to absorb them because of the policy of the Duke of Urbino, Guidobaldo della Revere II, who also ruled Pesaro. Although he had allowed the Jewish refugees to winter there, this was with the understanding that they would leave the duchy at winter's end. The writers wished to take an accurate census of the number of refugees in their city: "we chose to send this letter first to all the places where they dwell in order to determine the number of people who must depart." They also asked that the parnassim of Urbino cooperate in planning their journey to the East: "to have them leave with comfort, to find them rest, to provide sufficient boats." They also noted that it was necessary to give the travellers money and provisions for the journey "even though our brethren in Ferrara have agreed to give each person leaving a sum of three gold scudi." A similar request was sent by the heads of the Pesaro Jewish community to the nearby communities of San Angelo, Fossombrone, and Senigallia.

Other letters in MS Kaufmann A 494 reflect the same difficult situation.<sup>18</sup> An anonymous letter sent by the heads of a Jewish community in the Duchy of Urbino<sup>19</sup> indicates that it was public pressure, most probably from church officials in Urbino, that induced the duke to change his mind and to order the expulsion of the Jewish refugees from the Papal States from his realm:

כי אחרי שבאו הגולי[ם] לחסות תחת כנפי ממשלת אדוננו הדוכס יר"ה אשר אמרו בצלו יחיו דגן ויפרחו כגפן. צבורי הארצות נחרו בם וכתבו עליהם שטנה אל מעלת האדון יר"ה ועם כי פעמי[ם] רבות מנהיגי דורנו עמדו בפרץ לפנייהם להשיב חמתם מהשחית...ומעלת האדון נתפצר ונתפייס ונתפתה להם, כי לא יכול להתאפק לכל הנצבים עליו חקה חקק גזרה גזר לשלח רצוצי[ם] חושי[ם] בזמן כל חדש פלי[ני] כשלחו כלה גרש יגרש אותם מזה אם לא ילכו לרצונם.

For after the exiles came under the wing of the government of our master the duke, may he be exalted, they said: "In his shade [they] shall be revived: They shall bring to life new grain, They shall blossom like the vine" [Hosea 14:8]. But the local public quarrelled with them and wrote accusatory letters to his eminence the master, may he be exalted. And even though the leaders of our generation stood in the breach many times and succeeded in turning aside their destructive anger...[this time] his eminence our master acceded to them, for he was unable to withstand all those standing before him. He made a law, he issued a decree to hasten to expel the broken-down ones in a certain month – "Indeed when he lets you go, he will drive you out of here" [Exod. 11:1] – if they do not leave voluntarily.

<sup>18</sup> See: DAVID, *New Documents* – Italia. 28-35.

<sup>19</sup> DAVID, *ibid.* 28-30.

Two other anonymous letters (MS Kaufmann A 494) relate to the Duke of Urbino's expulsion order. In one instance,<sup>20</sup> the writers noted the arrival of expellees from Urbino, originally refugees from the Papal States, in Ragusa (present-day Dubrovnik), an important port city on the Adriatic coast. These refugees were taken captive at sea on their outbound journey to the East in 1571. The letter's writers noted that they sent two emissaries to effect the captives' release, and that both the Venetian ruler, Alvise Mocenigo I – here referred to as *ha-dukus me-ha-serarah* – and the "ruler here," certainly the Duke of Urbino, "who sent them from his domain, for their residence in his kingdom is not worthy of the king's trouble," played an important role in their release.

A brief description of this episode, with the addition of some details, is found in the works of Joseph ha-Kohen: *Divrey ha-Yamim le-Malkhey Sarfat u-Malkhey Beyt Ottoman ha-Tugar* and in his *'Emeq ha-Bakha*:

ויהי בחדש מארצו הוא חדש האביב ויגרש דוכוס אורבינו את היהודים אשר גורשו מערי הבמה בדבר הצר הצורר פיאו החמישי וירדו הימה באוניות ללכת תוגרמתה ויהי בהיותם אצל ראגושה ויתפשם שר צבא אוניות בעלי וינציאה כדוב שכול ויוציא את הזקנים ואת הגשים ואת הטף אל היבשה וישלחם לדרכם חפשים ואת בחוריהם העביר אל אוניותיו המשוטטות ויעבדם שמה כמשפט העבדים בפרך, ולא היה להם מושיע ביום אף ה'. וישלחו ראשי העדות לדבר אל בעלי וינציאה על החמס אשר נעשה להם אשר לא כדת, ויען להם הישיש לאמר רב לכם כי הזקנים והנשים והטף שולחו לדרכם חפשיים, רק הבהורים האלה ישרתנו עד עבור זעם המלחמה מעלינו, אחר גשלחם אל בתיהם חפשים.

And it came to pass in the month of March, which is the month of spring, that the Duke of Urbino expelled the Jews who had been expelled from the Papal States by the decree of the aggressor, Pius V, the enemy. They went down to the sea boarding ships bound for Turkey but when they were near Ragusa they were taken captive like a bereaved she-bear by the commander of the Venetian ships. He brought the old men, the women, and the children to land and set them free; at the same time, he transferred the young men to his sailing ships and worked them hard like slaves, and they had no saviour on the day of God's wrath. The heads of the Jewish community sent messengers to the Venetian leaders regarding the unlawful violence done to them, and the old man answered them: "You have gone too far! After all, the elderly, the women, and the children were released and sent on their way, only the young men will serve us until the threat of war is removed. Then we will free them and send them to their homes."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> DAVID, *ibid.* 30-31.

<sup>21</sup> Joseph HA-KOHN, *Divrei ha-Yamim le-Malkhei Sarfat u-Malkhei Beit Ottoman ha-Tugar*. P. 3: MSS British Library, London, Or. 3656, 182v-183r; Or. 10387 (Gaster 1071), 473r-v; *'Emeq ha-Bakha*. 96.

Reference is made to this episode in an arbitration document dating from 1572 which is presently housed in the archives of the Mantua Jewish community. This long document, published by Isaiah Sonne,<sup>22</sup> notes that some of the expellees who had been captured eventually made their way to Mantua. It cites: "...the ever-increasing expenses because of the poor Jews expelled from Pesaro who boarded ships to go across the sea and due to our iniquities some were taken captive and several returned to this region. Some came here to Mantua on 2 September 1572." The members of the Mantuan Jewish community debated the question of finding support for these redeemed exiles.

Another letter (MS Kaufmann A 494) also deals with the fate of the redeemed exiles.<sup>23</sup> This letter was sent via emissary from the heads of an unknown Jewish community (probably in the Duchy of Urbino; perhaps Pesaro) to another community. The emissary's task was to raise funds so that "those expelled by the Pope" who had found refuge in their city could be sent to safety. The writers went on to describe the heartbreaking situation of these refugees in greater detail. Although they had already managed to send "almost four hundred people by ship to the Levant," others still remained in their city. The rulers of the city, most likely the Duke of Urbino or his representatives, were exerting pressure on them to send the refugees on their way as soon as possible:

וגם מעלת אדוננו יר"ה נהפך לבו להתנכל בעבדיו וגזר עלינו לשלח רצוצי' [ם] חושי' [ם],  
וגזר ופירש שאם לא נמהר לשלחם מן הארץ, גם אותנו יעביר מעל פניו וישלחנו  
כשלחו כלה.

His eminence our master has had a change of heart to plot against his servants, and he decreed that we must send away the broken-down ones quickly, adding that if we did not send them away quickly he would send us out of his presence, that is, he would drive us away.

In addition we must note the resulting social tensions in the communities where the refugees found temporary or permanent refuge. The attitude of the local Jews to the refugees was ambivalent. In some places, the arrival and projected absorption of Jews expelled from the Papal States posed a threat to the social and economic standing of the local Jews. We know of requests by individuals and by communities to find alternate solutions for the expellees so that they would not become a burden on that community. Similar social tensions between exiles and local Jews existed in the period after the expulsion from Spain.

<sup>22</sup> SONNE, *Mi-Paulo*. 211-214.

<sup>23</sup> DAVID, *New Documents* – Italia. 32-33.

The problems created by the arrival of exiles from the Papal States are reflected in a letter from an anonymous Jewish community to other communities in the Romagna region.<sup>24</sup> This letter expressed concern that unless they received substantial aid, the expelled would have to remain with them and would be unable "to go east by sea," thereby endangering both the socio-economic status of the local Jews and their own position as well. I quote: "Lest they do harm by coming to us and becoming a burden on us, for they may be ruined suddenly, heaven forbid, and inherit Gehinnom twice. They will be in dread of fierce anger, heaven forbid." Accordingly, the communal officials requested financial aid from the addressees to assist the refugees in proceeding to the East.

In another letter (MS Kaufmann A 494), which lacks any identifying details, the writers protest strongly the refusal of another community to allow the exiles to remain in their region even temporarily:

בבהלנו מראות כי יקומו בקרבכם אנשים לעמוד על ימין אבינוי אחינו הגולים לשטנם, וכדי להשכית עובר אורח מארצם חקקו חקקי און ומכתבי עמל כתבו שלא יוכל שום מהגולים לבוא שמה, ואשר יבוא, אחת דתו להמית.

We were horrified to see that from among you arose individuals who stood at the right hand of the poor of our exiled brethren to denounce them. In order to prevent wayfarers from staying in their land they wrote evil writs and made iniquitous laws so that none of the exiles could come there, and those who came were liable to death.<sup>25</sup>

A different kind of social tension is reflected in two halakhic decisions concerning the same case, a disagreement between the Jewish community of Ferrara and exiles from Bologna who had settled in this city. The question was whether the Ferrara Jewish community could force rich exiles from Bologna to contribute to the communal purse for the poor. The exiles argued that they had no obligation to participate in this philanthropic activity. Since the aid to the poor from Bologna was not arranged through the community, they did not feel obligated to assist the poor of Ferrara. One decision, issued by Abraham Menahem Porto ha-Kohen, who was the rabbi of the community of Cremona, was published recently.<sup>26</sup> Another, a much more detailed one, written by Moses Provenzano in Mantua in 1573, is preserved in MS Kaufmann A 582.

Incidentally we find also eight letters preserved in the Kaufmann Collection which reflect Pope Pius V's decrees against the Jews of the Papal States prior to the

<sup>24</sup> DAVID, *New Documents* – Tarbiz. 379-381.

<sup>25</sup> Has been published by BOKSENBOIM, *Iggerot Yehudei Italia*. 284.

<sup>26</sup> See: DAVID, *New Documents* – Italia. 27-28.

expulsion, namely between the years 1566-1569. Two of them have been published by David Kaufmann himself (MSS Kaufmann A 418, A 493).<sup>27</sup> One (MS Kaufmann A 504) has been published by myself.<sup>28</sup> Five other letters (MS Kaufmann A 493) were recently published by Boksenboim.<sup>29</sup>

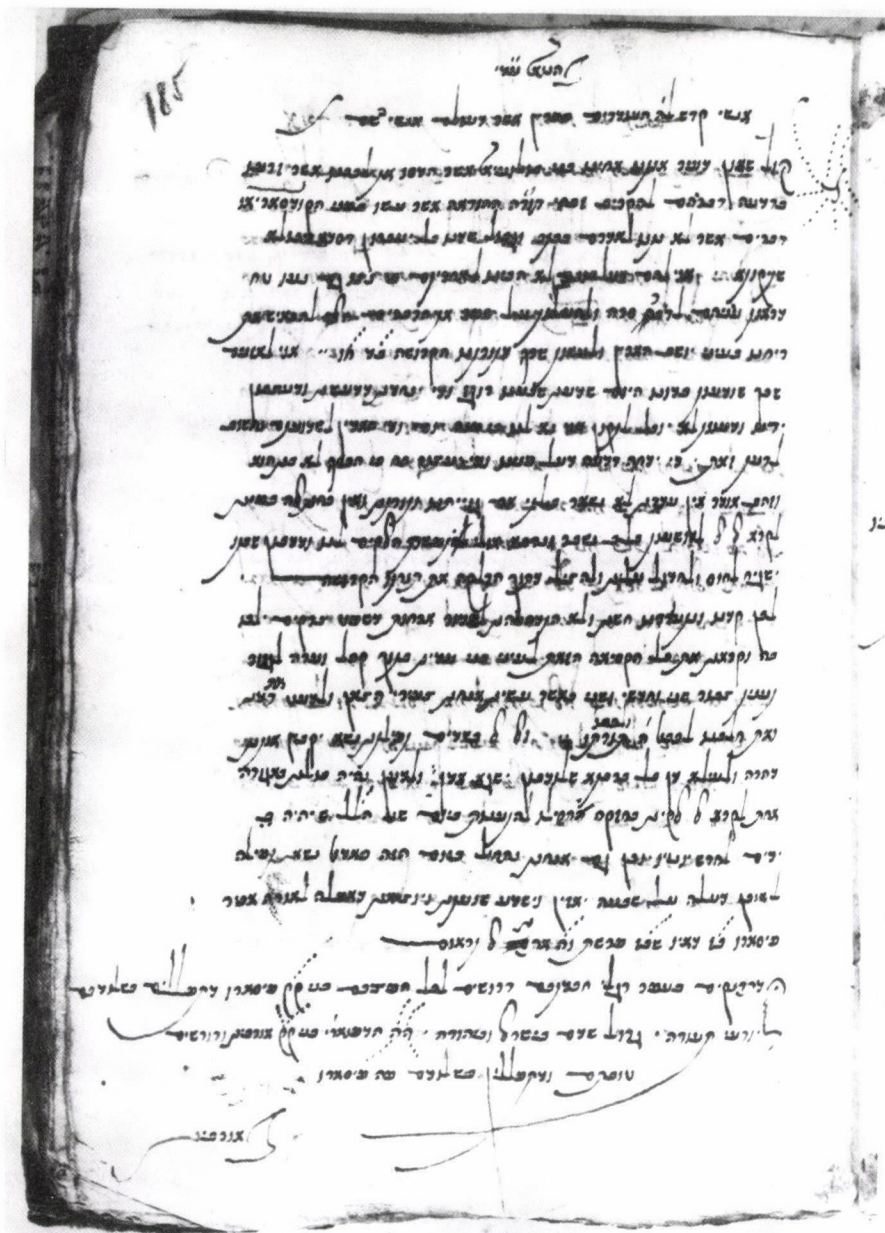
### Conclusion

Despite the fact that much of the documentary material from *iggeronim* in the Kaufmann Collection lacks identifying details, it can further our understanding of the fate of the expellees from the Papal States, both during and after the expulsion. Some expellees found refuge with the assistance of Jews in other cities, including Rome, Ancona, Pesaro, Mantua, and Ferrara. In order to help the exiles continue their search for a safe refuge in Italy and abroad in the East, the Jewish communities in these cities were forced to appeal to other Jewish communities for financial assistance. Several sources indicate that the expellees who settled in Pesaro and were expelled from the Duchy of Urbino two years later fell captive to maritime pirates outside Italy and that their release was obtained with the cooperation of Venice and her allies. There can be no doubt that future discoveries both from the Kaufmann Collection and other important treasuries of Hebrew manuscripts will considerably enrich our knowledge of key events of Italian Jewish history.

<sup>27</sup> David KAUFMANN, *Notes and Discussion* (A letter from the community of Pesaro to Don Joseph Nassi) = *Jewish Quarterly Review* 4(1891-2) 509-512; Idem, *Don Joseph Nassi, Founder of Colonies in the Holy Land, and the Community of Cori in the Campagna* = *Jewish Quarterly Review* 2(1890) 291-310.

<sup>28</sup> DAVID, *New Documents* – Italia. 20-21.

<sup>29</sup> BOKSENBOIM, *Iggerot Yehudei Italia*. 279-283.



MS Kaufmann A 504, p. 185.

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# A RENAISSANCE ASTROLOGICAL MANUSCRIPT FROM THE KAUFMANN COLLECTION

Tamás Bíró  
(Budapest)

## About the manuscript

*Tokhen Levenim* is an astrological treatise, whose only known manuscript is preserved in the Kaufmann Collection (MS A 508). It is probably the most extensive and detailed astrological text from the Renaissance written originally in Hebrew. Its author, Kalonymos ben David Kalonymos (Maestro Calo Calonymos), was a known Jewish scientist, a Renaissance polyhistor, who lived in Italy at the beginning of the 16th century.<sup>1</sup>

MS A 508 is a 16th century Italian codex, including some 784 pages and twenty-four separate items on astronomical and astrological topics. *Tokhen Levenim* is the first one, on pages 15-378. Other interesting texts worth mentioning that are found in it are a Hebrew-Latin glossary and some astronomical tables by Angelo (Mordechai) Finzi, a prosperous Mantuan loan-banker, mathematician and astronomer.<sup>2</sup>

The edges of the pages are embossed with golding. The pages are made of paper and they contain generally twenty-four lines; the dimensions of the codex are approximately 11 cm by 7 cm. The handwriting changes sometimes even within one item, such as *Tokhen Levenim*.

<sup>1</sup> Not to be confused with Kalonymos ben David ben Todros (or Kalonymos ben David the Elder), a Judeo-Provençal translator from Arabic into Hebrew living in Arles in the first half of the 14th century. He translated Ibn Rushd's treatise *Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, under the title *Happalat ha-Happalah*, probably between the years 1318 and 1328, which was further translated into Latin by Kalonymos ben David the Younger in 1526-27. (G. SARTON, *Introduction to the History of Science*, vol. 3. P. 1. Baltimore 1947. 428-429.) They are even confused in the index of *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (vol. 1. 568), where the reference 4:141 under Kalonymos ben David ben Todros in fact refers to Kalonymos ben David the Younger, and only 15:1323 refers to *ben Todros*.

<sup>2</sup> Y. Tzvi LANGERMANN, *The Scientific Writings of Mordekhai Finzi*. In: Idem, *The Jews and the Sciences in the Middle Ages*. Aldershot 1999. IX[7-44]; Cecil ROTH, *The History of the Jews in Italy*. Philadelphia 1946/5706. 200.

The book itself consists of two manuscripts, which were bound together quite early, probably between 1535 and 1562. The first one (pp. 1-560) contains among others *Tokhen Levenim*, which is probably a copy of the author's own manuscript (maybe written by one of his students); while the second one (pp. 561-784) might be written by Kalonymos ben David Kalonymos himself (p. 598). According to notes in the margins Kalonymos Cohen bought it for 5 coins on April 20th 1546, that is on Iyyar 14th (p. 4).<sup>3</sup> It was probably his son who also put notes on p. 784.<sup>4</sup>

*Tokhen Levenim* – according to the colophon found on page 378 – was copied from the author's own manuscript by Chayim ben Yochanan, a Frenchman who came to Italy, and the copy was finished on January 29th 1535. However, many different hands can be distinguished in the text of our treatise. On page 377, we find the date of the writing of the book: summer 1531.

### Renaissance astrology

The importance of astrology for the proper understanding of the Renaissance period is a well-established fact. Astrology was exceptionally widespread and deeply influenced the way of thinking of contemporaries. The different forms of religious mysticism also amplified the impact of astrology on the people of the Renaissance. Religious motives, such as messianic expectations based on mystical-astrological calculations, can be found behind many historical events.<sup>5</sup>

The cultural interactions between the Jewish and the Christian world are especially striking in this field. We have several special years that were thought to be astrologically significant, such as 1484, 1500 or 1517, when both Jewish and Christian astrologers, mysticists, rabbis and priests prophesized spectacular changes.<sup>6</sup> Astrological texts were translated from Latin and Italian into Hebrew, as well as medieval Jewish texts to the "Christian" languages.<sup>7</sup>

Our manuscript also provides evidence for these cultural interactions. In chapter 2 (p. 25, lines 18-25) we read: "So when the night of a given day is referred to by a layman,

<sup>3</sup> According to Mahler's tables, in 1546 April 20th fell on Iyyar 18th (Eduard MAHLER, *Handbuch der jüdischen Chronologie*. Leipzig 1916. 579.). The year when April 20th fell on Iyyar 14th was 1551.

<sup>4</sup> I wish to thank Benjamin Richler for his assistance in the investigation of this manuscript.

<sup>5</sup> David B. RUDERMAN, *Hope against Hope: Jewish and Christian Messianic Expectations in the Late Middle Ages*. In: D. B. RUDERMAN (ed.), *Essential Papers on Jewish Culture in Renaissance and Baroque Italy*. New York-London 1992. 302-303.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Abraham Solomon HALKIN, *Translation and Translators*. In: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. vol. 15. Jerusalem 1972. 1325-1326.

if it is the day of a Christian month, the night is to be understood as belonging to the previous day ...; but if the date is given according to the Jewish months, the night is to be understood as preceding the day ..." That is, the reader of the text, the Jewish astrologer, might be given dates according to both the Jewish and Christian calendars. Similarly, the title of Chapter 31 proves that the Jewish astrologer might be supposed to give predictions using the Christian calendar. This means that either he had also non-Jewish clients, or that his Jewish clients were using sometimes the non-Jewish calendar as well. In fact, we know about an important number of Jewish astrologers, some of whom were rabbis, who offered their services to rulers. Abraham Zacuto was the court astrologer of Manuel I of Portugal. Bonet de Lattes worked in the service of the Popes Alexander VI and Leo X at the end of the fifteenth century, while Kalonymos ben David, our author, was in the service of the Duke of Bari.<sup>8</sup>

Another example for these cultural interactions taken from our manuscript is the clear indication that our author used – or he supposed his readers would use – the Latin versions of the Alfonsine Tables, rather than the Hebrew ones. This can be deduced from the fact that he calls one specific part of the tables *Luach kamut ha-yamim* (p. 23, line 19), the "Table of the quantity of the days". This is an exact translation of *Tabula Quantitatis Dierum*, found in the 1492 Latin edition, while the Hebrew versions of the Alfonsine Tables call the same table as *Luach shaot chetsi ha-yom*, "the table of the half-day's hours".<sup>9</sup> This Hebrew expression "half-day's hours" is a key phrase of the chapter, expressing exactly the notion we are looking for. The earlier Hebrew name given to that table would be really very appropriate in the context, but our author still prefers to translate the Latin expression known only by those who use the Latin version of the tables.

It should be pointed out that astrology and astronomy were not separated during this very vibrant period. Most of the "fathers" of modern astronomy were also astrologers. One of the main motivations for astronomy was to furnish more and more exact methods for the calculations on which predictions could be based.<sup>10</sup> Astrology was considered to be a legitimate science, remarkably popular even among learned people.<sup>11</sup> Only very few were those who – like Maimonides centuries earlier – considered it to be superstition.<sup>12</sup> Astrology usually meant mathematical astrology,

<sup>8</sup> Robert BONFIL, *Rabbis and Jewish Communities in Renaissance Italy*. London-Washington 1993. 78.

<sup>9</sup> Columbia XB93, 41a-b and Kaufmann A 518, 186-187.

<sup>10</sup> Hermann VOGELSTEIN, *History of the Jews in Rome*. Philadelphia 1940/5701. 257: "... astronomy was valued by many only for its possibilities in astrologic calculations."

<sup>11</sup> Moshe Avigdor SHULVAS, *Chayey ha-yehudim be-Italiya bi-tkufat ha-Renesans*. New York 5715. 319.

<sup>12</sup> Alexander MARX, *The Correspondence between the Rabbis of Southern France and Maimonides about Astrology* = Hebrew Union College Annual 3(1926) 311-358.

which was very much interconnected with astronomy, using a wide range of mathematical techniques.<sup>13</sup>

Someone with a Jewish educational background would find that the Talmud and most of the authoritative medieval Jewish sources in general had justified astrology.<sup>14</sup> In addition, the Kabbalah strongly endorses it.<sup>15</sup> In addition, we should not forget that horoscopes have always been a very good source of income for their producers, thus the astrologers were interested in conserving the widespread belief in it. All these factors led the overwhelming majority of the contemporary society to accept astrology as a science, as the Siamese twin of astronomy and closely related to mathematics. Thus its history should be definitively considered as part of the history of exact sciences.

Not much is known about the activity of Jewish astronomers in Renaissance Italy. A major amount of work is yet to be done in this field. It has already been mentioned that quite a few Jews worked as court astrologers in the service of Popes and nobles, and we may assume that many more produced horoscopes for ordinary citizens.

### The author

Our author, Kalonymos ben David of the Kalonymos family, known also as Calo Calonymus, was also the court astrologer of the Duke of Bari in the early 16th century.<sup>16</sup> But beside that, he is known for translating scientific and philosophical works, as well as for dealing with linguistics and philosophy.<sup>17</sup>

The Kalonymos family played a leading role in the Jewish intellectual life of Renaissance Italy.<sup>18</sup> It originated from Southern Italy and had long been involved in

<sup>13</sup>For one of the best introductions into Renaissance astrology, as well as its mathematical and astronomical background, see Willy HARTNER, *The Mercury Horoscope of Marcantonio Michiel of Venice, A Study in the History of Renaissance Astrology and Astronomy*. In: Idem, *Oriens – Occidens, Ausgewählte Schriften zur Wissenschafts- und Kulturgeschichte*. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag. Hildesheim 1968. 440-495.

<sup>14</sup>MARX: *The Correspondence between...*; W. M. FELDMAN, *Rabbinical Mathematics and Astronomy*. New York 1978. 217-218.

<sup>15</sup>Moshe IDEL, *The Magical and Neoplatonic Interpretations of the Kabbalah in the Renaissance*. In: D. B. RUDERMAN (ed.), *Essential Papers on Jewish Culture in Renaissance and Baroque Italy*. New York – London 1992. 131f.

<sup>16</sup>BONFIL: *Rabbis and Jewish Communities...*, 78.

<sup>17</sup>Benjamin Richler mentions in his contribution to this volume that other manuscripts in the Kaufmann Collection also contain texts by Kalonymos ben David. See p. 25 above.

<sup>18</sup>Its connection with other famous families bearing the name Kalonymos, who also had played an important role in intellectual history, has not been demonstrated; these are the

medical practice. The father of our author, David Kalonymos of Bari, was granted citizenship of Naples as a court physician. The Neapolitan records often mention both David, the father, and Kalonymos ben David, "doctor of the arts and of medicine". As a result of the change in the conditions of south Italian Jewry, he moved to Venice not later than 1517. He is probably identical with Dr. Calonymus who was given a grant in 1553 by the senate to keep his son at his studies.<sup>19</sup>

Kalonymos ben David, besides being an astrologer, also dealt with linguistics and philosophy. As a linguist, he completed the final chapter on biblical accent marks of Abraham ben Meir de Balmes's work entitled *Mikneh Avram*, or *Peculium Abramae*.<sup>20</sup> The book appeared in Venice at the end of 1523, some months after the death of Balmes. It was encouraged by Daniel Bomberg and used by Christian Hebraists of the ensuing period. As a philosopher, he translated the philosophical work *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* of Ibn Rushd (Averroes) from Hebrew<sup>21</sup> to Latin under the title *Destructio Destructionis* published in Venice in 1526/7.<sup>22</sup> He even appended to it an original philosophical treatise on the creation of the world (*Volumen de Mundi Creatione, Physicis Probata Rationibus*). Furthermore, he contributed to the renaissance of the European culture with his Latin translation of al-Bitruji's ("Alpetragius") *Theorica Planetarum*, using Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew version, as well as with his taking part in the great Venetian editions of Aristotle and Averroes.<sup>23</sup>

Concerning the astrological works of the Kalonymos family, we know about a collection of short treatises on astrological subjects in MS Parma 336, containing works of Kalonymos, his father, David and his brother, Chayyim.<sup>24</sup> The end of the manuscript contains a prediction for the 1490s, similar to a horoscope of Bonet de Lattes. Speaking about their attitude towards astrology, on page 77a of the manuscript we find that Kalonymos counts astrology "among the other speculative and talmudic wisdom", that is, as part of a single "wisdom" in which astrology is included in an organic way. Fols. 44-47 of the same manuscript give "the reasons for the

Kalonymos family in Germany, active between the 9th and 13th centuries, and the family with the same name which flourished in Provence during the 13th century.

<sup>19</sup>Cecil ROTH, *The Jews in the Renaissance*. Philadelphia 1977. 75-76.

<sup>20</sup>MORITZ STEINSCHNEIDER, *Bibliographisches Handbuch über die theoretische und praktische Literatur für hebräische Sprachkunde*. Leipzig 1859 (reprinted Hildesheim-New York 1976.) 17-18.; JOSEPH ELIJAH HELLER, *Balmes, Abraham ben Meir de*. In: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. vol. 4. 141.

<sup>21</sup>He used the Hebrew translation *Happalat ha-Happalah* by his namesake, Kalonymos ben David ben Todros. (See footnote 1.)

<sup>22</sup>ROTH, *The Jews in the Renaissance*..., 75.; SARTON, *Introduction to the History of Science*..., vol. 3, part 1. 429.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 76.

<sup>24</sup>BONFIL, *Rabbis and Jewish Communities*..., 78. footnote 196.

commandments" from the tables of Alfonso, attributed by Kalonymos himself to "R. Abba Mari, the father of my son-in-law, R. Elijah Chalfan".<sup>25</sup>

According to the records, he predicted the war between Venice and the League of Cambrai: was he a good astrologer or a good political analyst? Similarly, in March 1513, he reassured the doge that the solar eclipse would not cause anything negative to Venice: was it a serious astrological prediction, a "politically correct" statement or a sign of a hidden skepticism of the truth of astrology?<sup>26</sup> Personally I doubt the latter.

The introduction of our treatise also informs us about the family of Kalonymos. He wrote this work already after the death of his father, and dedicated it to his son-in-law, Elijah Chalfan<sup>27</sup> and to his son, David. The latter had just started to deal with this science, and probably this fact gave the motivation to collect all the astrological knowledge required for an astrologer. The work is entitled *Tokhen Levenim*, an expression taken from Ex. 5:18, where the Israelite slaves in Egypt did not get enough material for preparing bricks. But the expression *tekhunah* also refers to the name of astronomy used in medieval Hebrew.

### The contents of the treatise

Of what consisted the knowledge needed by a Jewish astrologer in the 16th century, which Kalonymos ben David wanted to hand over to his son and to his son-in-law? We find the table of contents of *Tokhen Levenim* on pp. 17-22 of the manuscript. The first seven chapters deal with basic calculations of time, basic transformations between different systems, as for instance from hours into degrees, and vice-versa; or knowing whether a year is a leap year in the Christian system, or not. Chapters 8 and 9 discuss the mean motion of planets, while Chapter 10 gives help in performing the basic arithmetical functions: adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing in calculations. The following chapters present tools for calculations with units, such as degrees and hours. Starting in Chapter 16, the basic astrological terms are introduced: how to calculate the ascendant, the al-nimodhar, the planetary aspects, lunar conjunctions and oppositions, etc. Beginning with Chapter 26, we find techniques on how to calculate the time of conception from the date of birth, and other devices employed in order to get the best approximation for crucial astrological information.

<sup>25</sup>For more information and bibliography about the Chalfan family, cf. Meir LAMED, *Halfanus*. In: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. vol. 7. 1187-1188, as well as Umberto CASSUTO, *Halfan, Elijah Menahem*. In: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. vol. 7. 1187.

<sup>26</sup>ROTH: *The Jews in the Renaissance...*, 234.

<sup>27</sup>The responsa of Elijah Chalfan can be found in a manuscript of the Kaufmann Collection (no. A 156). In one of them he favoured instructing gentiles in the Torah. Cf. CASSUTO, *Halfan, Elijah Menahem*. In: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. vol. 7. 1187.

The next topic is the exact calculation of the position of planets and of the moon, relative to different systems, in order to get further astrological quantities. Chapter 45 deals with the visibility of the five planets and of the moon. The topic of the following four chapters is how to recognize and to distinguish the five planets, the catalogued fixed stars, the constellations and the special groups of stars called "the stations of the moon". Chapter 50 is about the groups of fixed stars indicating illness or important events. The next chapters deal with special questions, as with the use of the astrolabe, with conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter, which mark major events in the world, with eclipses or comets, and with indicators marking peoples and countries. The title of Chapter 59 is "telling the fate encoded in the birth", while the very last chapter explains how to behave when publishing one's results of the astrological calculations – a practical question that has probably always been crucial.

Let us now have a brief look into the content of Chapter 2 as an example. Its title is "to calculate the hours after the noon from the horological hours, and the opposite". The term "horological hours", (*shaoth hadrologiot*) means the homogeneous time measured by clocks or other instruments, that is when the day is divided into twenty-four equal hours, as opposed to other ancient systems depending upon sunrise and sunset, with hours of not a constant length. As I deduced from the text, this time was measured daily from sunset. The topic of the second chapter is how to transform a given time from this horological system into a system where each day starts at noon. The latter system would be widely used in the treatise in astrological calculations. Even 20th century astronomers use the same system (called the Julian-date), and its advantage is the fact that a given night, when the observations are done, is not divided into two different days.

In order to get the so-called "hours after the noon" from the "horological hours", one should add to them the length of the afternoon of the previous day, that is the time elapsed from noon to sunset. This time interval is called "half-day-arc", and the previous chapter explains how to calculate it from the Alphonsine Tables, in function of the date and geographical location. If the sum is more than twenty-four hours, then we have got a point of time from the next day (counted from noon), so we have to subtract twenty-four hours from the sum. The second half of the chapter explains how to transform a given time in the other direction, or even from other systems, such as in the case of a day starting with sunrise. The end of the chapter gives some hints how to transform the local time between different cities on different longitudes, depending on whether that city appears in the catalogue or not.

Now a last remark seems appropriate about the place of the manuscript in the eyes of the author. In the introduction, the author is aware of the fact that many Jews are interested in astrology, but he adds, there is very little Hebrew literature on the subject. What could be the reason for Jews not having written in Hebrew, and for our author still composing an extensive work in this not spoken language? It seems to be sure that Jewish astrologers read books in Latin, Italian, and most likely in other

languages, too, as it was also the case in other sciences. Scientific literature was easily available in these languages, which the Jews understood no less comfortably than they did Hebrew. Jewish scientists wrote treatises in Italian or Latin. In addition, these were the languages of communication with their customers and with their colleagues, and many of the astrological expressions are even not translated in our text to Hebrew; instead, the Latin or Italian term is simply written out in Hebrew letters.

Why did then Kalonymos ben David and a few others, too, choose to write a treatise in Hebrew? Why did Jews make the effort to translate books into Hebrew? Was it perhaps easier for some to read Hebrew rather than other, non-Jewish languages? Did they intend to spread their works to non-Italian speaking countries, and to regions where Jews did not really read Latin, either? It is open to doubt since the required background knowledge, as well as the foreign expressions used whose meaning is taken for granted, make our text hard to read for someone who is unfamiliar with the culture and the languages of Renaissance Italy.

It seems that our author wrote the text in Hebrew out of national pride. That is, an inner obligation forced him to continue, and not to break the chain of Hebrew culture, one of whose main components since the early Medieval Ages had been scientific literature. As was the case with the revival of modern Hebrew in late 19th century Eastern-Europe, so also we find in Renaissance Italy the type of Jew who is proud of his Jewishness, but on the other hand is very much embedded in the surrounding civilization. And he feels the need to create a Hebrew version of contemporary culture; thus he initiates the writing of scientific works in Hebrew and the translating of the neighbours' literature. That is the way we should understand the context of *Tokhen Levenim*, this most extensive Hebrew treatise on astrology from Renaissance Italy.

When David Kaufmann collected his Hebrew manuscripts as part of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, he represented the same kind of Jew, whose aim was to bind Jewish civilization and contemporary science – modern philology – together, although in a very different form.

Did the intentions of the author come true to disperse a work on astrology in Hebrew? Seemingly not, since it was never printed, no other copies are even known to us. One can always suppose all kinds of reasons why the text became never part of the public domain. The text is found in the beginning of the codex, thus the codex was in use also after *Tokhen Levenim*'s copying was finished, meaning that the text could not have been "immediately" lost after it was written, and the author could have wanted to publish it. But he presumably did not meet any interest in publishing it; the available books in other languages, as well as the older Hebrew writings in these topics must have satisfied the market.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup>I wish to express my thank to Y. Tzvi Langermann, my tutor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, for his help both in my research and in preparing this paper.



## Appendix

### About the mathematics presented in the first two chapters

Chapter 1 explains how to calculate the *keshet chetsi ha-yom ve-chetsi ha-layla*, that is the half-day and half-night arcs, in equal hours (*shaot shavot*). The half-day arc is the half of the length of the day,<sup>29</sup> while the half-night arc is the half of the length of the night (p. 24, lines 18-20). The half-day arc  $h$  depends on the declination  $\delta$  of the sun, as well as on the latitude  $\varphi$  of the city, that is  $90^\circ$  minus the angle of the horizon and of the celestial equator. Without taking into consideration the effect of atmospheric refraction:<sup>30</sup>

$$\cos h = -\operatorname{tg} \delta \operatorname{tg} \varphi$$

The first step is to get the longitude and the latitude ( $\varphi$ ) of the city in question, either by taking it from the appropriate tables, or by estimating it, using the known coordinates of other close cities.

From line 10 on page 23 onwards, we are told how to get the position of the sun (*meqom ha-shemesh*) at noon, on the given day. An astrolabe or an almanac can give a good approximation, but no further indication is given. (Chapter 51 should provide more details about the use of an astrolabe.) The third possibility is to enter the longitude of the city (and also probably the date in the year) into the table called *shoreset chama* within *shorashey ha-tnuot* of the Alphonsine Tables. What does it mean exactly *meqom ha-shemesh*? Seemingly rather the ecliptic longitude (constellation of the zodiac, and angle *within* the constellation) than the declination of the sun. It is not clear why we need the longitude of the city for this calculation.

In the next step (from p. 23, line 17 to p. 24, line 3), *Tabula Quantitatis Dierum* in the Alphonsine Tables gives us a first approximation for the half-day arc, in function of the *meqom ha-shemesh* and the latitude ( $\varphi$ ) of the city. If we transform the longitude of the sun into the declination ( $\delta$ ) – using the angle of the equator and the ecliptics –, this table should be consistent with our formula given above. The table seemed to use the double symmetry of the constellations: the half-day arc is the same if the sun's position is  $\lambda$  in Aries or  $30^\circ - \lambda$  in Virgo. Furthermore, it is equal to the half-night arc if the sun is at  $\lambda$  in Libra or at  $30^\circ - \lambda$  in Pisces. Another symmetrical quadruple is formed by Taurus, Leo, Scorpio and Aquarius, and a third one by Gemini, Cancer, Sagittarius and Capricorn.

The table had an entry for every third degree of the sun's position; thus we need to interpolate in order to get the exact value of the half-day (half-night) arc in function of the sun's position. The author suggests a linear interpolation (p. 24, lines 4-11).

<sup>29</sup> In spherical astronomy 24 hours equal  $360^\circ$ , thus time can be measured with angles.

<sup>30</sup> MARIK Miklós (ed.), *Csillagászat* [Astronomy]. Budapest 1989. 69.

Lines 11-16 finish the algorithm: if the sun is in Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo or Virgo (the northern constellations), we have got the half-day arc, as explained in connection with the double symmetry of the tables. In the case of the other six constellations, the southern ones, we have received the half-night arc. Now, once we know either the half-day or the half-night arc, we can calculate the other, since their sum is twelve hours *per definitionem*.

The double of the half-day and the one of the half-night arcs give respectively the length of the day and the length of the night. We are also able to get the time of sunrise in "horological hours", that is in the system when the day is divided into twenty-four equal hours, and the day starts at sunset (lines 17-18): it is nothing, but the length of the night. Then we can play with all kinds of other systems, like counting the hours from sunrise.

Chapter 2 deals with one of these alternative systems: with the one counting the hours from noon (p. 25, lines 11-12) (*shaot acharey chetsi ha-yom*, "hours after the noon"). This system is similar to the Julian-dates used nowadays in astronomy, and according to our text, Renaissance astrology used it also very intensively. Among its advantages it can be counted that the night – the classical time for astronomical observations – is not divided into two days; furthermore, it is easy to transform it between different local times, as explained at the end of the chapter. The simultaneous use of the Jewish and Christian systems, appearing in lines 18-25, and the warning concerning it have already been referred to above: if the date is given according to the Jewish calendar – where days start at sunset –, then the night belongs to the following day, while if the date is given according to the Christian one, it belongs to the previous day.

On the top of page 26, we are instructed to take the half-day arc ( $h$ ) of the given day – a good approximation of the half-day arc of the *previous* day, that we really should need –, using the algorithm presented in the previous chapter. We get the hours after-the-noon ( $atn$ ), by adding  $h$  to the horological hours ( $hor$ ), since  $h$  is the time elapsed from noon – the starting point of the after-the-noon system (a. t. n.) – to sunset (of the previous day), that is to the starting point of the horological system. In fact:

$$atn \equiv h + hor \pmod{24}$$

If  $h + hor > 24$ , we have got an hour of the next day. From line 11, the algorithm of the reverse transformation is described:

$$\begin{aligned} hor &= atn - h, \text{ if } atn > h \\ hor &= atn + (24 - h), \text{ if } atn < h \end{aligned}$$

In fact,  $(24-h)$  is described as the sum of the half-day arc and the length of the entire night. Lines 17-19 refer to a "retrograde" system, counting the hours from

noon backwards. Of course,  $t$  hours "before noon" equal to  $24-t$  hours after the previous noon. If one counted the hours from sunrise (line 24), we should add the sum of the half-day arc and the length of the entire night (that is  $24-h$ ) to it, so we get the a. t. n.-hours. A given hour in the a. t. n.-system is daytime, if it is less than  $h$  or more than  $(24-h)$ , unless it is nighttime (p. 27, lines 4-9).

The last topic in this chapter is the transformation of local times. Since the longitude of cities grew in the contemporary tables from the West to the East, it is easy to understand that the difference of the longitudes of two cities equals to the difference of local times in the a. t. n.-system. Here we can see a significant advantage of the a. t. n.-system compared to the horological hours, which is much more complicated to transform, since the time of sunset depends also on the geographical latitude.

# **תוכן לבנים<sup>1</sup>** **The Measurement of Bricks**

## **Introduction<sup>2</sup>**

(p. 16.) אמר הצעיר קלונימוס בן לאדוני מורי החכם (2) השלם כמה"ר<sup>3</sup> דוד נע<sup>4</sup> לבית קלונימוס.  
ראה ראיתי (3) את אוני עמי<sup>5</sup> בני ישראל ואת בינתם כי רבה בחכמת (4) התכונה, להם לבדם נתנה בארץ תוכן לבנים,<sup>6</sup> בניו (5) הם מבין יתר האומות מעיהם חמרמרו<sup>7</sup> עומדים (6) עלינו לחלותינו<sup>8</sup> מדי יום ביום לחקור ולדרוש בה (7) דרך ישכון אור לגוייהם ולאומותם, לאמותם יאמרו (8) איה דגן תירוש<sup>9</sup> ויצהר<sup>10</sup> צוהר יעשו לתבה<sup>11</sup> וישעו (9) בדברי שקר,<sup>12</sup> כי היא שעמדה לאבותינו ולנו<sup>13</sup> מים (10) שלנו, גם מאז דברו אל עבדיו, ואחרי הטורח והעמל (11) עמל יקצורו וילאו עלות בהר ונגוע בקצהו.<sup>14</sup>  
ונשאתי (12) את עיני ואבינו בספריהם בחלק המעשי, והנם (13) עקודים נקודים וברודים<sup>15</sup> לוחות לוחת כתי' לוחות (14) אבנים קשים כגידים, כלם אחזוי ערב<sup>16</sup> וסתר (15) וגם

<sup>1</sup> MS Kaufmann A 508

<sup>2</sup> The full stops in this edition follow the manuscript. The commas and the paragraphs were added by the editor in order to help the reading of the text. The page and line numbers refer to the only known manuscript, MS Kaufmann A 508.

<sup>3</sup> כבוד מורנו הרב.

<sup>4</sup> נ"ע: נוחו עדין

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ex. 3:7: עמי את עני עמי.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ex. 5:18.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Lament. 1:20.

<sup>8</sup> Instead of לחלותנו, as found in the Pesach Haggada. The scribe clearly corrected the original כ to ח in the manuscript.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Lament. 2:12: איה דגן ויין.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Deut. 28:51, 2Chron. 31:5, 32:28 (דגן ותירוש ויצהר).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Gen. 6:16: צהר תעשה לתבה.

<sup>12</sup> Ex. 5:9.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the Pesach Haggada.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Ex. 19:12.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Gen. 31:10.12.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Song of Songs 3:8: כלם אחזי חרב.

ערב רב עלה אתם.<sup>17</sup> ויגעתי ולא מצאתי (16) לוחות מתקרבות לאמת כלוחות אלפונצו אחזתים ולא (17) ארפם עד שהבאתים לבית עמי<sup>18</sup> לפקודיהם (18) למטה יהודה.<sup>19</sup> ואפן וארא מציץ מן החרכים,<sup>20</sup> (19) והנה הם ג"כ בסתר המדרגה<sup>21</sup> בצע אמרתם, (20) והים אינם מלא על כל גדותיו<sup>22</sup> ויצטרך אל (21) חלוך, וספרים ודבורים כאשר תעשינה הדבורים<sup>23</sup> (22) המצפציץ והמהגים<sup>24</sup> המסו את לבבי<sup>25</sup> ונשארם (23) במחשכים. ונתתי אל לבי<sup>26</sup> כי בער אנכי מאיש<sup>27</sup> (24) וכתבתי על הלוחות שלה וחברתי החבור הזה, (p.17.) הזה קראתיו תוכן לבנים, מקיף על ששים (2) שערי בינה בהם יתלבנו דרושים שונים (3) חדשים גם ישנים בהתעסקות חכמת (4) הככבים, והדורך אחרי עקבותם איננו חסר (5) לנפשו מכל אשר יאוו<sup>28</sup> חרות על הלוחות,<sup>29</sup> (6) והיו לבשר אחד<sup>30</sup> לחותם תכנית ולשלמות (7) בני יצו עמינו ולתת עליהם היום ברכה.<sup>31</sup> (8) ואתם חתני כמהח"ר<sup>32</sup> אליה חלפן יצו' ודוד (9) בני יצו שמעו בקולי שומו אל המדב"ר פניכם,<sup>33</sup> (10) והיו נבונים לבקר תעלומות חבורי זה בריחיו (11) עמודיו ואבניו, ואם בה תעשו תצליחו בכל (12) מעשה ידיכם בתואר ההתעסקות, וביחוד (13) אתה דוד המתחיל בחכמה הזאת המפוארה (14) ולך איפה אפלי באהבתך, מה אעשה בני (15) כי אם להדריךך בדרך הנכונה. ולמען (16) יהיה נכון בידיכם להגיע אל תכלית החפץ (17) לכל אות נפשיכם אספר שערי בפרטות (18) ולכן ראו לכך אחד מהם, וזה תוארם (19) בחצריהם ובטירותם<sup>34</sup> עם עזר הצור (20) ישתבח שמו לעד אמן.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Ex. 12:38.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Song of Songs 3:4: אחזתיו ולא ארפנו עד שהביאתיו אל בית אמי.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Num. 1:27, etc.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Song of Songs 2:9.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Song of Songs 2:14.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Jehoshua 3:15: גדותיו מלא על כל גדותיו. And also 1Chron. 12:16.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Deut. 1:44.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Isaiah 8:19.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Deut. 1:28.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Qoheleth 9:1.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Mishlei 30:2.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Qoheleth 6:2: אשר יתאוה מכל לנפשו מכל אשר יאווה.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Ex. 32:16.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Gen. 2:24.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Ex. 32:29.

<sup>32</sup> כבוד מורנו החכם רבי

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Num. 24:1: וישת אל המדבך פני. Here the transformed reading probably is: אל המדבך or אל המדבך.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Gen. 25:16.

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<sup>35</sup> (cf. p. 25, line 15) אחרי חצי היום הקודם

<sup>36</sup> הדרולו"ג, cf. footnote to p. 24, line 18.

<sup>37</sup> "Anno bisestile" is *leap year* in modern Italian. This chapter probably relates to Christian leap years.

<sup>38</sup> Different works gave different absolute numbers as scales, when giving the relative parameters of the planetary models. The aim of this chapter is to avoid the confusion of numbers from different sources.

<sup>39</sup> Note that the scribe wrote 16 as י"ו and not as ט"ז.

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- (23) שער מ"ב להוציא בעל הגלגל בהיקף
- (24) שער מ"ג להוציא בעל האלפרד<sup>42</sup> ושמוש הכוכבי' (25) בהקף

<sup>40</sup> The "planetary aspect" is the distance on the ecliptics between the planets.

<sup>41</sup> The *al-nimodhar* is an astrological quantity.

<sup>42</sup> *Alferdar*, an astrological quantity.

- (p. 21.) שער מ"ד לדעת הקף כל חדש וחדש משנת (2) ההיקף אשר בידך  
 (3) שער מ"ה לדעת מתי תראה הלבנה וחמשת (4) כוכבי לכת אחרי דבוקם עם השמש (5) ושיער  
 זמן היות הלבנה על האופק (6) בכל לילה ולילה עד הנגוד ומתי (7) תזרח על האופק מהנגוד  
 והלאה וכן (8) במשרתי<sup>43</sup> והקיימי'  
 (9) שער מ"ו להכיר חמשת כוכבי לכת בלילה (10) מבין יתר הכוכבי'  
 (11) שער מ"ז להכיר הכוכבי' הקיימים והרשומי' (12) והבדלם זה מזה  
 (13) שער מ"ח להכיר הכוכבי' הקיימי' המקובצים (14) יחד וצורתם בשמם המיוחד להם  
 (15) שער מ"ט בספירת צורות פרטיות מקצת כוכבי' (16) מקובצי' יחד יכוננו בשם מחנות לבנה<sup>44</sup>  
 (17) שער נ' בספירת כוכבי' קיימי' פרטיים כורחים (18) ומחליאי' ומורים על מאורעי' וכחות (19)  
 העין וזולתם  
 (20) שער נ"א בהשתמשות כלי האצט"ורלב והכרת תואריו  
 (21) שער נ"ב בהקפי שנות העולם  
 (22) שער נ"ג במחברות שבתאי וצדק המורים על (23) עניני' כוללים בעולם  
 (24) שער נ"ד בלקות המאורות<sup>45</sup>  
 (25) שער נ"ה בכוכבי' בעלי הזנב  
 (p. 22.) שער נ"ו במורים כוללים על אומות (2) ומדינות ועיירות מתחלפות  
 (3) שער נ"ז בטובת הכוכבי' ורעתם וכחם וחלשתם  
 (4) שער נ"ח בביאור שמות טובות ורעות הכוכבי' (5) וכחם וחלשתם  
 (6) שער נ"ט בסיפור הגורלות המורגלות בלידות  
 (7) שער ס' יהוא חתימת חזו"ן בספור היאך תתנהג (8) בהוצאת המשפטים להוציא לאור (9) משפטיך

# First chapter:

(10) **שער א'** להוציא קשת חצי היום וחצי (11) הלילה בשעות שוות

ולפי שהוא (12) הכרחי בחקיקת הכוכבי' ועשיית (13) הצורה על פי לוחות אלפונצ"ו  
 אשר חבורי (14) זה מיוסד עליהם לדעת השעות אח"ה<sup>46</sup>, ואי (15) אפשר להגיע אליהם כי  
 אם בידיעת שעות (16) קשת חצי היום וחצי הלילה ואורך ורוחב העיר, (17) לכן בחרנו  
 בשער הזה הראשון לדבר מהם,

<sup>43</sup> Word used by Ibn Ezra to designate the planets.

<sup>44</sup> The "camps of the moon" are 28 groups of 3-5 stars, along the monthly trajectory of the moon. Each group represents a day in its trajectory.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Gen. 1:16.

<sup>46</sup> Hours after the noon, as explained in Chapter 2.



(18) ונאמר כי כאשר תרצה לדעת קשת חצי (19) היום או חצי הלילה משעות ודקים ביום (20) מהימים בלידה או בחקיקה אחרת אשר בידך, (21) דע תחילה אורך ורוחב העיר שתראה זה בה, (22) ואם היא מהעיירות המפורסמות הנמצא אורכם (23) ורוחבם בלוח המיוחד בזה הידוע לכל בספרי' (p. 23.) מתחלפים, קחם מהלוח כמו שהם, ואם (2) היתה העיר מהבלתי מושמים בלוח, חקור (3) חקירה רבה מהמקום שהיא בו בגליל ההוא (4) וממצבה לכל צד מהצדין הארבעה בערך (5) אל העיר הקרובה אליו המושמת בלוח, ועם (6) שקול דעתך לפניך או לאחר קח אורך (7) ורוחב העיר ההיא עם הדקדוק האפשר (8) לך. וכתוב האורך והרוחב ההם בקצה (9) הנייר, והשתמש מהם בכל חקיקותיך בדרוש (10) ההוא.

ואחרי כן ראה מקום השמש בחצי (11) היום ההוא, והנה תמצאהו בקרוב באמצעו' (12) ימי החודש אם באצטור"לב ואם באלמנ"ק (13) הנק' טקו"אין אם היה לך אלמנך בזמן ההוא, (14) ואם כאולי אין לך לא אצטור"לב ולא אלמנ"ק (15) חקוק בלוחות אלפונצ"ו מקום חמה בחצי היום (16) ההוא בהכנסך עם אורך העיר ההיא (17) ששמרת<sup>47</sup> בשורש חמה בלוח שורשי התנועות, (18) ואחר שמצאת מקום השמש הכנס בלוח (19) קשת חצי היום הנק' לוח כמות הימים (20) ברוחב הלוח עם מעלת השמש במעלות (21) יורדות בטלה ומאזנו' שור ועקרב תאומים (22) וקשת ובמעלות עולות בסרטן וגדי אריה ודלי (23) בתולה ודגים, ובאורך הלוח עם מרחב העיר (p. 24.) שלך, וקח מה שתמצא בזוית המשותף משעות (2) ודקים, ואם השמש במעלה דומה לנמצא (3) בטור המספר כבר הגעת אל המבוקש, ואם (4) לא יהיה במעלה דומה, קח ההפרש בין הקודם (5) והמתאחר, ובהיות שהלוח הנמצא אצלינו הולך (6) מג' לג', הוסיף תמיד שלישיתו על הקודם, (7) אם תהיה מעלת חמה יתרה על הנמצאת (8) בטור המספר א' מעלה או הוסף ב' שלישיות (9) אם תהינה ב' מעלות, והיוצא יהיה קשת חצי (10) היום או הלילה משעות ודקים למעלת (11) חמה בדיוק נמרץ.

ואמנם לדעת אם השעות (12) מיום או מלילה, ראה אם השמש במזלות (13) צפוניות, יצא קשת חצי היום, וחסרהו מ"ב (14) שעות, ויצא קשת חצי הלילה, ואם הוא במזלות (15) דרומיות, יצא קשת חצי הלילה, יגרע אותו מ"ב (16) שעות, ויצא קשת חצי היום משעות ודקים. (17) והנה תדע שעת הזריחה איזו שעה היא משעות (18) הדרלו"גי<sup>48</sup> והוא כמות הלילה אם תכפול קשת (19) חצי הלילה, ותדע כמות היום אם תכפול (20) קשת חצי היום. ותדע שעות אחר הזריחה (21) באיזו שעה הם משעות הדרלו"גי בידיעתך (22) העדפתם על שעת הזריחה מהדרלו"גי, ותדע (23) שעת חצי היום אם תוסיף קשת חצי היום (p. 25.) על שעת הזריחה. ושמור בקצה הנייר (2) קשת חצי היום כי ישרת לך למצוא השעו' (3) אח"ה כמו שיתבאר בשער הנמשך, ולכן (4) התחלנו ממנו בשער הזה הראשון.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Line 8.

<sup>48</sup> Probably from It. *d'orologio*, time measured by watch, with equal hours. I will translate it as "horological hours". According to p. 26 lines 3-17 it seems that the horological hours were counted from sunset.

## Second chapter:

(5) **שער ב'** להוציא שעות אח"ה מתוך (6) השעות הדרלו"גי וכהפך

כאשר (7) תהיה בידך שעה משעו' הדרלו"גי (8) ביום מהימים אם מלידה ואם מדבר אחר (9) ותרצה לדעת איזו שעה היא אח"ה לעשות (10) החקיקה עליה, השמר לך שלא תשגה בימים (11) ובשעות, וזה כי חכמי החזיון מתחילי' היום (12) אשר בידך מחצי היום הקודם אליו, וכן (13) יובן יום פלו<sup>49</sup> אצלם באופן שכל השעות (14) שהם מהעת ההיא עד חצי היום אשר בידך, (15) יכוננו בשם שעות אחר חצי היום הקודם (16) השלם, האמנם השעות שהם מחצי היום (17) אשר בידך והלאה הם שעות אח"ה אשר בידך (18) שכבר נשלם, וכן כאשר יאמר מההמון ליל (19) יום פלו' מהחדש או ליל יום פלו' מהשבוע, (20) הנה אם היה היום מימי חדשי הנוצרים, (21) ראוי שיובן הלילה הנמשכת אחר היום ההוא (22) וראוי לחזוה לקחת השעות אח"ה ההוא, אך (23) כאשר יהיה יום מחדשי היהודים, ראוי שיובן (24) הלילה הקודמת ליום ההוא וראוי לחזוה לקחת (25) השעות אח"ה בחקיקה אחרי היום הקודם (p. 26.) ואחרי הצעתינו זאת ההכרחי {ת}, נשוב אל (2) המבוקש בשער הזה בהמצאת השעות אח"ה (3) המשרתים לחקיקה. והוא שתקח קשת חצי (4) היום ההוא משעות ודקים על דרך השער (5) הקודם, ועל השעות ההם הוסף שעות הד"רלוגי (6) אשר בידך, ואם שניהם מקובצים פחות מכ"ד (7) הם שעות אח"ה הקודם, ואם יותר מכד (8) קח מהם כ"ד ויעשה יום שלם והוסיפו (9) על היום הקודם והנשאר הם שעות אח"ה (10) שאתה בו, וחקוק עמהם ותגיע אל מבוקשך, (11) וכן להפך, כאשר יהיו בידך שעות אח"ה (12) ותרצה לדעת שעות הדר"לוגי, ראה אם הם (13) יותר מקשת חצי היום, חסר מהם קשת (14) חצי היום וישארו שעו' הדר"לוגי, ואם היו (15) פחות הוסף עליהם קשת הלילה כולה וקשת (16) חצי היום, ומה שיעלה משלשתם הם שעו' (17) הד"רלוגי. וכן כאשר יהיו בידך שעות קודם (18) חצי היום ותרצה להשיבם לשעות אח"ה (19) חסרם מכ"ד, והנשאר הם שעות אח"ה הקודם, (20) ובכלל שים כל מגמתך לדעת השעות אח"ה (21) מתוך איזה מין משעות שיהיו בידך, כי עם (22) השעות אח"ה תעשינה כל החקיקות. ואמרת (23) איזה מין משעות שיהיו בידך יען, כי לפעמי' (24) ינתנו לך לבד שעות אחר הזריחה בבוקר קודם (p. 27.) חצות, והנה להביאם לשעו' אח"ה תוסיפם (2) למקובץ מקשת חצי היום עם קשת הלילה (3) כולה, והם כלם שעו' אח"ה הקודם. ואמנם (4) כשיהיו בידך שעו' אח"ה, ותרצה לדעת (5) אם יום ואם לילה, ראה השעות ההם (6) ואם היו פחות מקשת חצי היום או יותר (7) מקבוצ קשת שעו' חצי היום עם שעות (8) הלילה כלה, הנה הוא יום, ואם לאו הנה (9) הוא לילה.

<sup>49</sup> פלוני

האמנם כאשר יהיו בידך (10) שעות ושברי' אח"ה מאיזה דבר אם תקופה (11) ואם לקות או דבר אחר בעיר מהעיירות, (12) ותרצה באמצעותם לדעת השעות אח"ה (13) בעיר אחרת נדרשת. ראה ההפרש באורך (14) במעלות ודקים בין אופקך לאופק העיר (15) הנדרשת בלוח אורך ורוחב עיירות (16) מפורסמות הנז',<sup>50</sup> והביאם לשעות ושברי'<sup>51</sup> (17) על דרך שער ד' שנזכיר, ואם היה אורך (18) העיר הנדרשת פחות מאורך העיר שאתה (19) בה, ראוי לחסר ההפרש ההוא משעות העיר (20) שלך, ואם היה יותר, ראוי להוסיפו (21) על {י}הם, וזה כי הלוח ההוא מיוסד באורך (22) העיירות מקצה מערב,<sup>52</sup> והעיר שבאורך שלה (23) פחות, היא יותר מערבית והשמש יזרח בה (24) אחרי זריחתו במזרחית, עד ששעו' המזרחית רבות (25) משעות המערבית, כידוע למשכיל.

<sup>50</sup> הנזכר

<sup>51</sup> ושבריהם

<sup>52</sup> That is the values of longitude grow from the west to the east.



## THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND GENIZAH STUDIES

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**The Cairo Genizah** has become really known since the end of the 19th century, although reports about it had appeared earlier. In the early eighties European travellers visited the Genizah and took leaves from it as souvenirs.<sup>1</sup> The purchasing of Genizah manuscripts and the establishment of European collections began in the last third of the 19th century. The first buyer was Abraham Firkovitch, a Karaite Jew from Russia, who purchased an extensive part of the manuscripts. His two collections (the Firkovitch Collections I and II) now constitute the core of the collection of the Oriental manuscripts of the Public Library of St. Petersburg. Another Russian collection was established by Antonin, Russian archimandrite of Jerusalem. After 1890 (which was the year of the rebuilding of the synagogue) great quantities of the Genizah material were sold and brought to Europe by travellers. One of the places of destination was the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The purchasing from the Cairo Genizah at the end of the 19th century by Solomon Aaron Wertheimer and Elkan Adler must also be mentioned. It was contemporarily with this purchasing (most probably in December 1894) that David Kaufmann bought a selection of about 500 pieces of manuscripts written in Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic, originating from the 10th c. Kaufmann was not successful in purchasing – as he intended – more manuscripts from the Genizah (the reason for this is not known).<sup>2</sup> It was in December 1896 that Solomon Schechter arrived to Cairo and acquired about 100.000 pieces from the Genizah for the University of Cambridge (Schechter singled out all non-printed material; printed books had gone earlier to Oxford).<sup>3</sup> The material of the one-time synagogue Genizah is to be found now in Cambridge, New York, Oxford, St. Petersburg,

<sup>1</sup> Paul E. KAHLE, *Die Kairoer Genisa. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des hebräischen Bibeltextes und seiner Übersetzungen*. Berlin 1962. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander SCHEIBER, *The Kaufmann Genizah: Its Importance for the World of Scholarship*. In: *Jubilee Volume of the Oriental Collection 1951-1976*. Edited by ÉVA APOR. Budapest 1978. 175-188, esp. 176. [=Alexander SCHEIBER, *Geniza Studies*. Hildesheim-New York 1981. 513-526, esp. 514].

<sup>3</sup> Paul E. KAHLE, *Die Kairoer Genisa...*, 5.

Budapest and other places. It is a coherent material representing the library and archives of the Jewish community of Cairo in the early middle ages (8th-11th century). (The coherence of the Genizah material is reflected also in the fact that missing parts of some works come up often in a different collection).

**The Qumran library** was found between 1947 and 1956 in the caves near Wadi Qumran. It contains the documents of a religious community, a branch of the Judaism which existed between the 2nd c. B.C.E. and the 1st c. C.E. The findings give reports first of all of the religious traditions and literary activities of the group, but documents about everyday life are missing.<sup>4</sup> Besides Biblical manuscripts, there were also found rules, liturgic and poetic compositions, agadic narratives based on Biblical themes (a part of these was earlier known from the apocryphal literature in Greek and other translations), halakhic literature and rules: 11QT (The Temple Scroll), 4Q159, 4Q513-14 (Ordinances), 4Q274-77 (Tohorot), 4Q284 (Leqet), 4Q394-99 (4QMMT), 1QS (The Rule of the Congregation) and other writings like 4Q320-30 (Mishmarot, calendars with priestly courses) and 4Q186, 4Q561 (physiognomies).

**The two collections demonstrate a special relationship.** These relations concern not only texts of certain Biblical books but also other texts. The **Kaufmann Genizah** contains two fragments of the book of Nehemiah. Samuel Löwinger analyzed them and came to the conclusion that the texts of the Budapest fragments were similar to those found in the Qumran caves.<sup>5</sup> The unit of the books of Ezra-Nehemiah is represented only in one copy in Qumran.<sup>6</sup> Other biblical books are represented by a much higher number of copies: Deuteronomy and Psalms were found in 25 and 34 copies.<sup>7</sup> Now it is known that Qumran biblical manuscripts represent all kinds of textual tradition (the Septuagint, Samaritan tradition), and we speak now of a *multiplicity of*

<sup>4</sup> In reality texts of deeds and other documents found in the Qumran caves have not yet been edited. Some fragments referring to everyday life were edited, and recently even new documentary texts were found and edited. 4Q477 (*Rebukes of the Overseer*) refers, with names, to the hierarchy and practice of the community, see Esther ESHEL, 4Q477: *The Rebukes of the Overseer* = *Journal of Jewish Studies* 45(1994) 111-122. In 1996 two ostraca were found in the settlement, see Frank Moore CROSS – Esther ESHEL, *Ostrakon from Khirbet Qumran* = *Israel Exploration Journal* 47 (1996) 17-28; Ada YARDENI, *A Draft of a Deed on an Ostrakon from Khirbet Qumran* = *Israel Exploration Journal* 47(1997) 233-37.

<sup>5</sup> In: *Auerbach Jubilee Volume*. Jerusalem 1955. 193-207.

<sup>6</sup> 4Q117 is a three-piece fragment from the Book of Ezra containing Ezra 4:2-6, 4:9-11, 5:17-6:5. This book was counted in the old Jewish tradition as one book with the book of Nehemiah. For the text see *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XVI. Qumran Cave 4, IX. Psalms to Chronicles*. Eds. Eugene ULRICH et al. Oxford (in the press).

<sup>7</sup> Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. Minneapolis-Assen 1992.104-105.

*texts*\* concerning the Qumran Biblical textual tradition. The unique copy of Ezra-Nehemiah from Qumran happens to represent the same textual tradition as the fragments of the Kaufmann Collection. However, it does not follow from this fact that the two collections had any particularly close relationship.

**The book of Ben Sira** had for a long time been known only from the Greek translation of the Septuagint. The first Hebrew fragments of the work were found in the Cairo Genizah in 1896.<sup>9</sup> Further fragments came to light from Qumran and Masada in the 50s and in 1961.<sup>10</sup> The Book of Ben Sira is missing from the canon of the Biblical books compiled by the Rabbis. Although Talmudic citations from the book had been known, no Hebrew text had been found until 1896. The content of the work does not account for its neglect in Rabbinic circles. On the other hand, the book was very popular in Essene and Zealot circles: its manuscripts were found both in Qumran and Masada, the latter being the last resort of the Zealots during the Jewish Revolt, and the book was certainly brought there by them. It was certainly popular among the Egyptian Jewry where its translation was organised. The Hebrew Genizah text of Ben Sira may have represented a continuous Egyptian Jewish tradition. The appearance of the work in the Genizah, Qumran, and Masada reflects a common interest in the book in Essene, Zealot, and Egyptian communities.

**The Damascus Document** came to light in 1896 from the Cairo Genizah, more than fifty years before the first manuscripts in the Dead Sea region were found. Solomon Schechter published the manuscript in 1910.<sup>11</sup> Only the finding of the Qumran library afforded chance to identify the unknown sect with the community known from the Qumran documents. In Qumran, several fragments of the Damascus Document were found. Among them nine copies of the work were identified: one from Cave 5, one from Cave 6, and seven copies from Cave 4, which is also called the *sectarian library*. Today, all the fragments have been published, and they offer several important pieces of information concerning the content and character of the work. The Qumran fragments<sup>12</sup> cover not only the text known from the medieval Genizah manuscripts; they

\* Emanuel TOV, *Textual Criticism*..., 111-117.

<sup>9</sup> Solomon SCHECHTER, Charles TAYLOR, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: Portions of the Book of Ecclesiasticus from Hebrew Manuscripts in the Cairo Genizah Collection*. Cambridge 1899.

<sup>10</sup> 2Q18, a fragment of the book of Ben Sira from Qumran is edited in Maurice BAILLET, Józef Tadeusz MILIK, Roland DE VAUX, *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumran. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan III*. Oxford 1962. 75-77. For the Masada Ben Sira scroll see Yigael YADIN, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada*. Jerusalem 1965.

<sup>11</sup> Solomon SCHECHTER, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*. Cambridge 1910. (Documents of Jewish Sectaries I.)

also contain long parts missing from the medieval manuscripts (the text of the Cairo copies seems to be truncated, and this assumption was proved by the fragments of Cave 4). The picture we have today of this work, on the basis of the Qumran fragments, is that the Admonition (cols. I.1-VIII.21, XIX.1-XX.34) may have been an introductory tract addressed to new members of the community; and the longer part of the text (IX.1-XVI.19 and the fragments 4Q266-273) may have given a detailed halakha for a community the members of which lived in families (female impurity is a recurrent topic in the text) in various towns and villages of the region. The Damascus Document represents an elaborate halakhic system based on clear principles. The number of other halakhic fragments not belonging to the Damascus Document and found in the caves of Qumran and the fact that these works were represented in the caves by several copies lead us to conclude that Qumran was a spiritual centre where biblical and other books were copied, together with liturgic, aggadic, and halakhic works composed in the community and that they were sent to other communities living scattered in the region.

The Genizah text has a decisive role in our understanding and interpretation of the Damascus Document. It is the only continuous text, and so on its basis we can value the work, its significance in the library and also in the tradition of the community. Paul E. Kahle wrote on this subject a few years before 1947<sup>13</sup>: "The importance of the document is, however, not to be seen in the history of a long forgotten sect, but in the religious and legal matters contained in it", and the "Laws and prescriptions in the book, the Sabbath observance, uncleanness and purification, oaths and vows, the lawfulness of certain marriages, and many other things differ largely from those known from Tannaite sources." (Still he disagrees with those who date the document to the early second century B.C., a date suggested in the survey of the history of the sect in the Admonition).<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Fragments of the Genizah text from caves 4, 5 and 6 were published by Maurice Baillet and Józef Tadeusz Milik in BAILLET-MILIK-DE VAUX, *Les 'petites grottes'...*, 128-131, 181. The Qumran fragments were taken into consideration at the new edition of the Genizah text, see Magen BROSHI (ed.), *The Damascus Document Reconsidered*. Jerusalem 1992. The fragments of halakhic content not contained in the Genizah text were edited in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XVIII. Qumran Cave 4, XIII. The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* ed. Joseph M. BAUMGARTEN. Oxford 1996.

<sup>13</sup> In the first, English edition of his book: Paul E. KAHLE, *The Cairo Genizah*. London 1947. 11-12.

<sup>14</sup> See col. I.5-8. As to modern scholars, Philip R. DAVIES, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the 'Damascus Document'*. Sheffield 1983. 203. suggests a date about 200 B.C.E. for the composition of the work. Other scholars propose a date falling between the second half of the second century B.C.E. and the middle of the first century B.C. For details see Emil SCHÜRER, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. Geza VERMES et al.), vol. III. P.1. Edinburgh 1986. 395-396.



It was long supposed that the text of the Damascus Document had been found in the early 9th century and that it had given a decisive impetus to the rise of the Jewish sect of the Karaites. According to a letter from the Nestorian bishop Timotheos I, around the year 800 ancient manuscripts were found near Jericho and carted away by Jews from Jerusalem.<sup>15</sup> It can neither be proven nor denied that the Damascus Document was among the manuscripts found then. In Karaite documents, there is no reference to the work or to the finding of books. The emergence of the sect of Anan ben David took place in an earlier period than the finding of manuscripts reported by the bishop. However, it cannot be excluded that Essene halakah later influenced the legal interpretation of the Karaites.<sup>16</sup>

On the other hand, the group which lived in Qumran was not an isolated community. On the basis of their written documents, it can be supposed that there were working Essene communities scattered over the region – communities living according to their common calendar and halakhic rules.<sup>17</sup> It is improbable that this tradition suddenly disappeared when the Romans occupied the Qumran site during the Judaean Revolt. The halakhic tradition must have survived both in writings and in practice. Nor can it be denied that copies of the Damascus Document survived in places other than Qumran, and that the text was copied and transmitted also after the 1st c. C.E. and therefore could have influenced halakha and practices of later groups.

**The edition of 4Q212-214** with the help of Genizah fragments. Genizah texts can be helpful when we reconstruct Qumranic fragments: an example of this is the case of the Aramaic Levi document (called formerly Testament of Levi). The genre 'testament' – a branch of wisdom literature – was very popular in Qumran. Testaments are also known from the pseudepigraphic literature in Greek; the best-known work is the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, where patriarchs – Jacob's sons – give moral admonishments to their descendants, giving examples from their own lives. From Qumran, we know of a Testament of Judah (4Q538), a Testament of Naftali (4Q215), a Testament of Joseph (4Q539), the Admonitions of Amram (4Q543-44, 4Q548), a Testament of Qahal (4Q542) and of a Testament of Levi (1Q21, 4Q213, 4Q537) – the last three testaments representing three generations of Levi's family. The testaments from Qumran (most of them written in Aramaic) may represent an older tradition in Qumran literature (the

<sup>15</sup> Paul E. KAHLE, *Die Kairoer Genisa. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des hebräischen Bibeltextes und seiner Übersetzungen*. Berlin 1962. 16-17. See also Naphtali WIEDER, *The Judaean Scrolls and Karaism*. London 1962.

<sup>16</sup> On certain similarities in the two halakhic systems see Norman GOLB, *Literary and Doctrinal Aspects of the Damascus Covenant in the Light of Karaite Literature* = *Jewish Quarterly Review* 47.4(1957) 354-374.

<sup>17</sup> Josephus FLAVIUS, *Bellum Judaicum* II.8.2-13, mentions two branches of the Essenes: one particular group of them marries while the others live in celibacy. The laws of the Damascus Document reflect a community living in families.

Qahat manuscript comes, according to C14 dating, from the 4th c. B.C.E.).<sup>18</sup> The testaments known today from Greek Christian tradition (like the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs) are based on works similar to those found in Qumran.

The Levi document has recently been edited by M.E. Stone and the late Jonas C. Greenfield.<sup>19</sup> The work was found in six manuscripts – all of them from Cave 4 (the so-called 'sectarian library'). It may have represented an important work in the tradition of the community. It was written in Aramaic – probably coming from an old literary tradition. It may have served as a basis for the Greek translation of the text, but the Greek text is not identical with the Aramaic work (some New Testament citations of the Greek text show that it was reworked by Christians, but even its non-Christian part differs from the Aramaic version). Again the Genizah-text is not identical with the Qumran Aramaic text, but certain parts of the two texts are parallel with each other.

The beginning of the work – Levi addresses teachings to his children before his death – can be found in both texts. Levi exhorts his sons to love wisdom and to follow the righteous way. He relates a vision he saw (seven men), and that following the revelation he received the priestly function from his father Jacob: "He (Jacob) invested me in the priestly garb and he consecrated me"<sup>20</sup>, and I became a priest of the God of eternity [...]" (4Q213 frg.,1). The text of 4Q213 frg. 2. is again paralleled by the Genizah text. It gives a *technical description* about how to cut into pieces the animal sacrificed and how to arrange the pieces on the altar. These prescriptions are followed by others concerning the kinds of wood which can be used at holocaust sacrifices (4Q214a (4QLevi/e ar) frg.1. and 4Q214b (4QLevi/f ar) frg. 2-6). Both the Genizah and the Qumran texts report on the birth of Levi's daughter, Jokebed (4Q214a (4QLevi/e ar) frg. 2-3). The Genizah text can also serve as a means for the reconstruction of a wisdom poem in the Qumran Levi document (Ms a 1.ii, e 2-3, f 8).

The details concerning priestly duties in performing sacrifices may have been important in circles in which priests were represented. The Qumran group was such a community. The Book of Jubilees – a re-telling of the Genesis narratives – was an agadic work used and transmitted in the community. It reflects the influence of certain Qumranic works and also seems to have influenced some Qumran *sectarian* works. It must have been authored by a priestly person, since the additions to the narratives very often concern the cult, calendar and priestly duties.<sup>21</sup> Coming back to the

<sup>18</sup> Georges BONANI, Magen BROSHI, Israel CARMi, Susan IVY, John STRUGNELL, Willy WÖLFELI, *Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls* = Atiqot 20(1991) 27-32.

<sup>19</sup> *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXII. Qumran Cave 4. XVII. Parabiblical Texts, P. 3.* Oxford 1996. 1-72.

<sup>20</sup> Lit. 'he filled my hands'.

<sup>21</sup> Michel TESTUZ, *Les idées religieuses du livre des Jubilées*. Geneva 1960. James C. VANDERKAM, *Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and Other Second-Century Sources*. In: *Seminar Papers of the Society of Biblical Literature*. Missoula-Montana 1978. vol.I. 229-251.

Aramaic and Greek Levi tradition, details concerning sacrifice are completely missing from the Greek Testament of Levi (the text mentions only the twelve kinds of wood, without giving their enumeration). In contradistinction, the Aramaic Genizah document preserved accurately the priestly tradition of the work.

It seems that manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah reflect in many cases a good knowledge of ancient Palestinian non-Rabbinic tradition.

**The importance of the Genizah material for Qumran studies.** The caves of Qumran provided further rich aggadic material. These works were only recently published or are about to be published. Genizah material (including the fragments in the Kaufmann Collection) should also be taken into consideration when examining these new Qumran fragments.



# THE RESTORATION OF THE GENIZAH FRAGMENTS IN THE KAUFMANN COLLECTION

Judit Szabados  
(Nagymaros)

As a book conservator I was requested in 1995 by Éva Apor, head of the Oriental Collection, to undertake the conservation and in part the restoration of the Genizah fragments in the Kaufmann Collection. This work was supported by the Getty Foundation and was completed in 1996.

The manuscripts contained both paper and parchment (vellum) fragments which were dusty, stained (by water, ink etc.), mouldy, worm-eaten, torn and incomplete. Some leaves were water-stained and stuck together. On a few manuscripts the writing had faded or was blurred. Some signs of previous repair (sellotape, paper strips as well as sheets covered with glossy paper on both sides) could be seen. Unpaged paper and vellum fragments of various sizes and conditions as well as debris could be found in the envelopes. A considerable amount of decayed and weak paper manuscripts belonged to the collection. The vellum fragments were wrinkled, dusty and extremely dry as well as wear could be clearly seen along the folds.

## **The following treatments were applied to the paper fragments:**

### **1. Mechanical (dry-) cleaning**

Removal of dust from each piece of paper was done with sponge-eraser, eraser and occasionally with sand-cloth of fine grade.

### **2. Disinfecting**

The leaves stained by mould were treated with 2% thymol dissolved in ethanol.

### **3. Removal of old repairs and separation of the leaves which stuck together**

- a) without moisture (when the adhesives already dried up)
- b) soaking in or spraying with hot water
- c) loosening the adhesive with a solution of 5% methyl-cellulose in water
- d) sellotape was removed with ethanol (1% polyvinyl-butylal was dissolved in ethanol for strengthening the paper under the sellotape strips). Brown stains caused by sellotape were reduced with pure ethanol after the removal of the adhesive tape.

4. **Fixing the writing and strengthening the paper**

If the ink was water-soluble it was fixed before wet treatment. Weak paper was reinforced either on the whole surface or on the edges only. For both purposes a solution of 3% polyvinyl-butyral in ethanol ("Regnal") was used, which we brushed on the writing and/or on the paper.

5. **Wet treatment**

We washed the sheets and the fragments in pure cold water or in lukewarm water with a detergent (fatty alcohol sulphate) in exceptional cases only when it was absolutely justified. After the use of a detergent the sheets were thoroughly rinsed. Paper leaves were then air-dried and pressed between blotters.

6. **Mending**

Missing parts in the paper were completed as well as damaged and torn areas were reinforced with Japanese paper of the appropriate thickness and colour (toned with tea when necessary). The adhesives used were "Glutofix 600" (hydroxy-ethyl-methyl-cellulose) and rice starch. Holes of larger size were completed with cellulose fibres by hand leafcasting. After cleaning, the cords which hold the leaves of manuscripts together were sewn back in the original manner.

**Summary:** 1244 sheets of paper fragments were cleaned; 160 pieces were disinfected; 535 fragments were reinforced on the entire surface or on the edge(s) and/or the writing was fixed on them; 735 paper fragments were repaired and 98 pieces were leafcast by hand.

### **Conservation and repair of vellum (parchment) fragments**

1. **Mechanical (dry-) cleaning** was performed in the same way as on the paper fragments (with sponge-eraser, eraser and sand-cloth of fine grade).
2. **Wet-cleaning:** after testing the solubility of the inks and colours, a mixture of ethanol and water (70:30) was used.
3. For **softening** a solution of 5-10% urea in ethanol was applied.
4. **Flattening:** layers of a non-woven synthetic textile ("Vetex"), blotting paper and felt were put on the parchment leaves on both sides and the whole package was pressed between wooden boards at first with light then heavier weights for a period of three weeks.
5. **Mending and completion:** Japanese tissue paper and suitably thicker Japanese paper toned with tea were used to mend the leaves and to complete the missing areas. The adhesive was Regnal of 10% concentration.

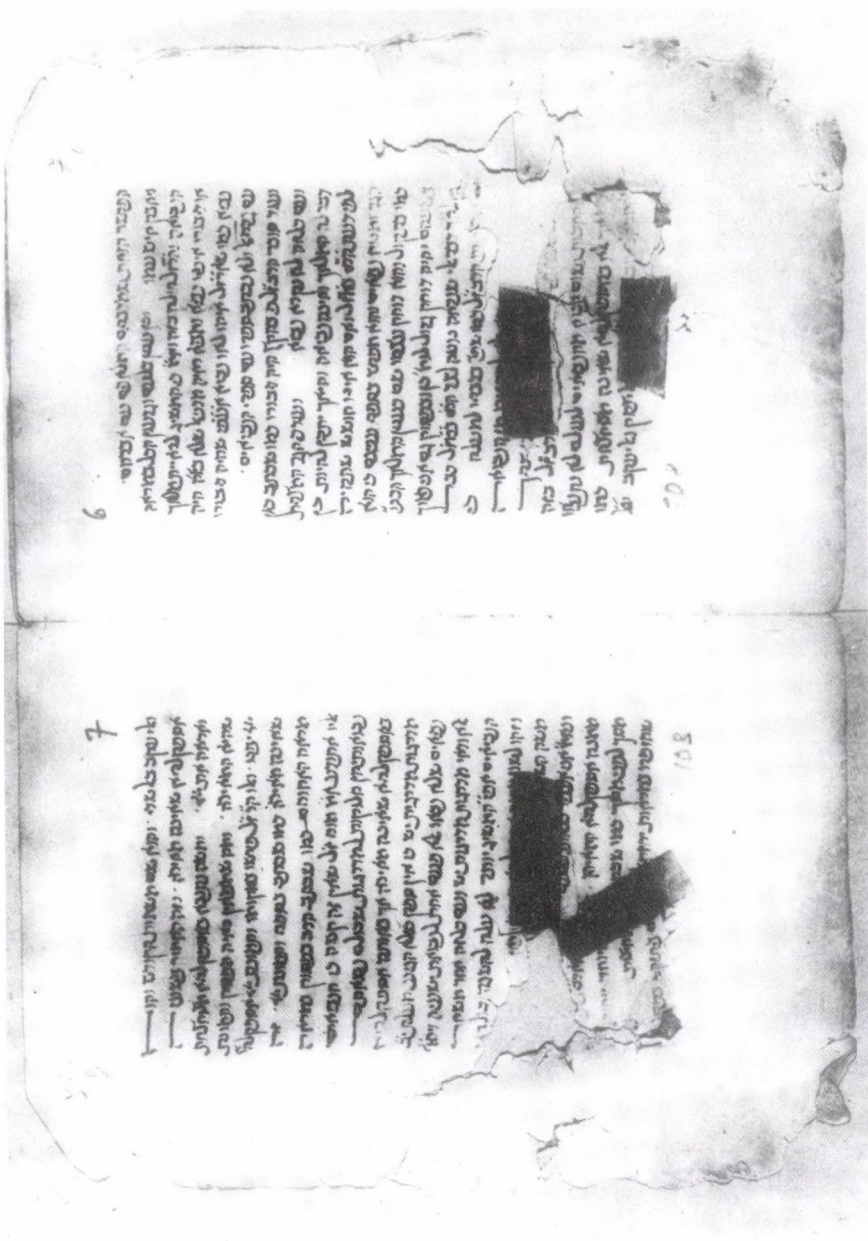
**Summary:** 34 parchment fragments were dry-cleaned and softened, from which 31 pieces were also wet-cleaned and mended.

## THE RESTORATION OF THE GENIZAH FRAGMENTS

After conservation the leaves and unpagged fragments were put into envelopes made of permanent paper. The envelopes were placed into folders which had been made of a thicker sort of permanent paper. The folders were put into fourteen boxes whose inside was lined with permanent paper. The boxes are closed but one side of them can be opened when necessary.

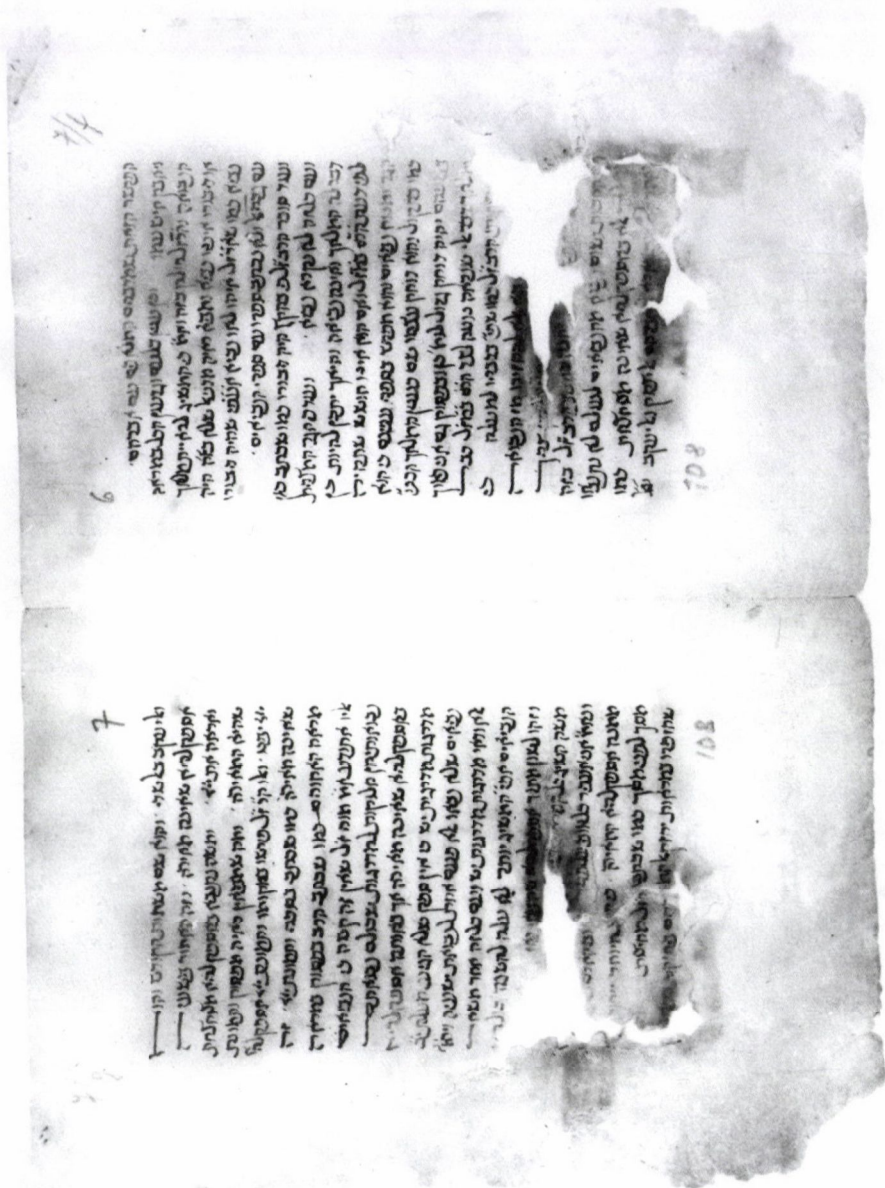
All paper and boxes used were Hungarian products.

The Genizah fragments were listed individually in the protocol of the project. It is supplemented by photographs made both before and after the conservation procedure. The shortened version of this protocol and one set of the photographs were sent to the Getty Foundation.



Kaufmann Collection, Genizah fragment no. 7 f, g  
Before restoration





Kaufmann Collection, Genizah fragment no. 7 f, g  
After restoration

455 b

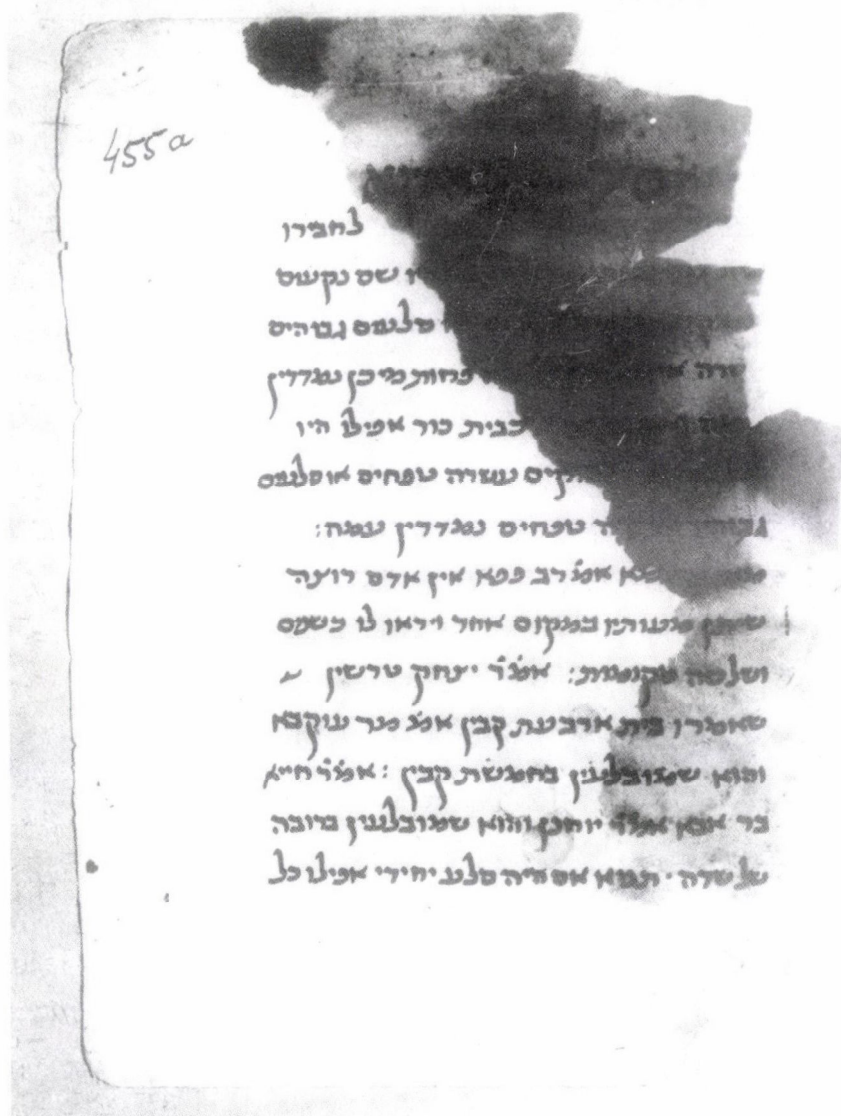
והוא אמר  
בית כור  
כל מהא ינכ  
אצל הן חפרו  
לסאה אוהוהכר חו  
כן יעשה חשבון  
עראפלי ופטי יבאשי  
חסר הן יתר לאמי  
לומעות ואם רצה מחזיר לן קרית  
מה אמרו מחזיר לן מנעות לטורח  
שלמכר שאם שייר בשדה תשעת קצין  
ובנה בית חצ קב וכדברי עקבה בור  
רובע מחזיר לן את הקרקע ורובע בלור  
הוא מחזיר לן אלואת כל המזר  
לטר כוחו שלמכר אמר לותר

Kaufmann Collection, Genizah fragment no. 455 b  
Before restoration

455 b

זהו א"י כמדד נגדה: **מתג**  
 בית כור עפר אנו מוכר לך מדה בח-  
 כל זהו ינכה יתר כל שהוא זקד ואש  
 אצל ה"ן חסד ה"ן יתר א"י פחות רובע  
 לסאה אוהותכר רובע לסאה ה"עו יתר ע  
 כן יעשה חשבון: איבטא להן ביתב  
 עראמא ופשוט יב אשי לבסותבא נמי כה"ן  
 חסד ה"ן יתר דאמ"י: **מתג** ומחזיר  
 לו מעות ואם יצא מחזיר לו קרקע ומפני  
 מה אמרו מחזיר לו מעות לטות כוחו  
 של מוכר שאם שייר בשדה תשעת קצין  
 ובגה בית חצ' קב וכדבר י' עקיבה בית  
 רובע מחזיר לו את הקרקע ולא רובע בלבד  
 הוא מחזיר לו אלא את כל המותר:  
 לטות כוחו של מוכר אמר: לטות כוחו

Kaufmann Collection, Genizah fragment no. 455 b  
After restoration



Kaufmann Collection, Genizah fragment no. 455 a  
Before restoration



455a

## סליק פירקא

לחברו

יגד

ג' יונ כור ע'ר אני מוסר לך היו שם נקשם  
 נמקיס עשרה טפחים או שלשם גבוהים  
 שרה אין נגודין נגמה פחות מיכן נגודין  
 נגמה ואם אמר לו כבית כור אפילו היו  
 שם נקשם נמקיס עשרה טפחים או שלשם  
 גבוהין עשרה טפחים נגודין נגמה:  
 מאי טעמא אמר רב פטא אין אדם רועה  
 שיתן מעותיו במקום אחד ויראו לו כשם  
 ושלסה מקומות: אמר יוחנן טרשין ג  
 שאמרו בית ארבעת קבין אמר מר עוקבא  
 והוא שמובלעין בחמשת קבין: אמר חייא  
 בר אבא אמר יוחנן והוא שמובלעין ברובה  
 של שדה תביא אסהיה סלעי יחיד אפילו כל



# THE VISUAL DIMENSION OF JEWISH CIVILIZATION: CONCEPTS AND REALIZATIONS

Gabrielle Sed-Rajna  
(Paris)

The best way to introduce this reflection on the visual dimension of Jewish civilization is to quote a few lines written by the late Professor Gershom Scholem in his book on Sabbatai Zvi:

The internal censorship of the past, particularly by rabbinical tradition, has tended to play down or to conceal many developments whose fundamentally Jewish character the contemporary historian has no reason to deny. The last generations have had their eyes opened and have been able to perceive the spark of Jewish life and the constructive aspirations even in phenomena which Orthodox Jewish tradition has denounced with full force.<sup>1</sup>

In the same vein but on a subject closer to the topic of this meeting, the late professor Avi-Yonah wrote in his review written on the three volumes devoted by E. R. Goodenough to the synagogue of Dura Europos:

a great achievement was to draw our attention away from the texts, on which Jewish scholarship had been exclusively founded, to the world of images and thus restore to Judaism a visual dimension it had sadly lacked before.<sup>2</sup>

For many centuries, the visual dimension of Jewish civilization was a totally ignored field in the studies on Judaism. Starting from the deeply rooted conviction that the Second Commandment inhibited all artistic activities, no attention was paid to it and no effort was made to verify whether the facts supported or justified such an

<sup>1</sup> Gershom SCHOLEM, *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah*. Princeton 1973. XI.

<sup>2</sup> Michael AVI-YONAH, *Goodenough's Evaluation of Dura : A Critique*. In: Joseph GUTMANN, ed., *The Dura Europos Synagogue*. Missoula 1973. 133.

uncompromisingly negative attitude. The notion itself of a Jewish art was, up to the last decades, a source of embarrassment and misunderstanding. Today, however, the situation has changed and the possibility to get a clearer image of the visual culture of Judaism along the centuries does exist. The question we will deal with in the first part of our reflection is to recall the events that helped to get a clearer image on art within Judaism and the circumstances which stimulated the development of its study. In the second part of our lecture, we will make an attempt to evaluate some of the results obtained by these studies in a current context.

The first and most unexpected event which provoked a significant change in the appreciation of this field was the discovery of the paintings of the prayer hall of the Dura synagogue (fig. 1). The stages of the discovery are probably known well enough since the magisterial Final Report of Carl Kraeling<sup>3</sup> published in 1956 and the three volumes devoted to Dura by Erwin R. Goodenough, in volumes 9-11 of his *Jewish Symbols in the Greco Roman Period*<sup>4</sup> published in 1964, so they do not have to be recalled here. This discovery has given rise to a chain of studies and publications on the paintings of the synagogue which has been uninterrupted up to the present day. The last significant contribution is the book published in 1990 by Kurt Weitzmann and Herbert Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art*<sup>5</sup>. The exhaustive bibliography at the end of this book gives an idea of the contributions that the paintings have raised. And it is a fact that the implications of the existence of a 3rd century synagogue decorated with figurative paintings and their unexpected relation to Christian works of art from later periods, as it has been identified step by step, compelled the academic community to reconsider all former theories concerning Jewish art as well as those about the emergence of Christian art and the relation between the two.

The most important point these studies make obvious is that the frescoes provide irrefutable proof that the Second Commandment has never impeded any artistic creation. A careful reading of the biblical text could have lead much earlier to a similar conclusion, as the text prohibits only representations of God, a restriction respected in all the paintings of the Dura synagogue. As it has already been noticed, certain rabbinical texts suggest that such paintings may have existed in other community buildings too, even in Palestine. In the Jerusalem Talmud, *Abodah Zarah*, Rabbi Yohanan (3rd c.) states that "painted wall decorations can be authorized". There is obviously no necessity to authorize something that no one ever wanted or would have tried to

<sup>3</sup> Carl H. KRAELING, *The Synagogue. The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report*, vol. 8., pt.1. New Haven 1956.

<sup>4</sup> Erwin Ramsdell GOODENOUGH, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*. Vol. 9-11. Princeton 1964.

<sup>5</sup> Kurt WEITZMANN – Herbert L. KESSLER, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art*. Washington 1990.



practise. In other words, thanks to the Dura frescoes, all arguments trying to justify the absence of art in Judaism as the consequence of religious prohibitions lost their pertinence.

The second significant fact was that the Dura frescoes provided the earliest known example of continuous biblical illustrations. The great number of elements rooted in rabbinical literature, the so called *midrash*, integrated in the visual version of the biblical stories, leave no doubt that the paintings were created within a Jewish environment. Moreover, because of the complexity of the compositions, they cannot be considered as primary attempts to visualize the biblical narrative. In fact, the theory generally accepted today among scholars is that the painters of the synagogue must have had models at their disposal, probably in the form of scrolls of illustrated biblical or midrashic texts. This means that illustrations of biblical stories enriched by rabbinical elements must have existed within Judaism prior to the mid-3rd century, the date of the synagogue paintings. In other terms, art based on the Bible, which remained the favourite subject of European art for more than ten centuries, was rooted in creations elaborated within Jewish civilization.

Finally, a third unexpected point that research on the frescoes has gradually established is the complete dependence of early Christian iconography on the models that were already at hand in Dura. It is clear that the wall paintings of the synagogue could not have been the direct sources of any Christian work of art, as the paintings of the prayer hall were visible for not more than eleven years, from 245 CE – the date of the accomplishment of the decoration – to 256 CE, when, under the threat of the Sassanide attack, they were hidden behind a sand wall in order to protect them. This very short lapse of time was certainly not sufficient for the paintings to become known or to exercise any kind of influence beyond the borders of the city. But, as it was mentioned, Dura itself was already a second stage, composed with the help of pre-existing models. This hypothesis which seems hence the most probable – in fact, the only possible one – is that the Christian works of art which reveal affinities to the iconography of the Dura frescoes, depend on models similar to those used for the Dura paintings. And several arguments invite to suppose that these models themselves were of Jewish origin.

Researches stimulated by the discovery of the Dura synagogue had a dual impact: on the one hand, the scholarly community became aware of the existence of an art within Judaism, now traceable from as early as the 3rd century, which had the immediate effect of the emergence of the history of Jewish art as a new scholarly discipline. Simultaneously, research on the origins and the history of biblical illustrations became a highly popular subject among art historians. Scholars from all countries, and the most eminent ones, became interested in the problem and produced an ever increasing number of books and articles devoted to it. In the United States Carl Kraeling, Joseph Gutmann, Rachel Wischnitzer, Richard Brilliant were followed by Kurt Weitzmann, Herbert Kessler, Ernst Kitzinger; in Israel, after the late Michael

Avi-Yonah, came Bezalel Narkiss and Elisheva Revel-Neher; in Europe Carl-Otto Nordström, Heinz-Ludwig Hempel, the late Ursula and Kurt Schubert, in Belgium France Cumont, in France Du Mesnil du Buisson, Henri Stern and André Grabar, – a list which is far from being exhaustive and hopefully not finished.

The variety of the monuments which reveal affinities with the Dura program is remarkable: the 4th century catacombs of the Via Latina in Rome, the Basilicas of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome and of San Vitale in Ravenna; many late antique manuscripts, Greek as well as Latin, among them the 6th century Vienna Genesis, the prestigious Byzantine and Carolingian Bibles of the 9th and 10th centuries, the enigmatic 6th century Latin *Ashburnham Pentateuch*, to which Bezalel Narkiss has devoted several studies. Although not of Jewish origin, these manuscripts became famous because of the rich midrashic material integrated into their iconography, which confirm the hypothesis of having been based on models deriving from Jewish sources.

For many, many years, no argument existed to suppose that the iconography adopted for the Dura frescoes would have been known to the decorators of the Galilean synagogues. True, nothing is known about the wall decoration of these synagogues, as the partition walls have not survived in any of them, and the mosaic floors unearthed in Hammath Tiberias, in Beth Shean and Beth Alpha (fig. 2) are based on a different iconographical program. The motives of these floor mosaics were taken over from contemporary Roman monuments, with their Zodiac circles and Season personifications, the liberty in the selection of the motives having gone so far as representing the Sun god Helios in the center of the Zodiac circle in the synagogues of Hammath Tiberias and Beth Alpha. However, these elements were not simply taken over and assembled, they were integrated into a newly planned composition where the cosmic motives are dominated by the image of the Ark of Covenant flanked by two *menorot* and a set of Temple implements (fig. 3) used as symbols of the divine realm to avoid a direct representation of the divinity, in full respect of the religious prohibition. Even though these mosaic floor compositions attest to a free synthesis of elements taken from contemporary Roman art, the addition of the specific Jewish symbols, placed as they are above the cosmic symbols of the Sun and the Zodiac signs, transformed these images into a visual expression of a hieratic Universe dominated by the invisible divinity, alluded to by way of symbols – in full accord with the Jewish concept of the Universe.

As can be seen, research on Jewish Art received a most beneficent impetus from the studies raised by the excavations of the Galilean synagogues and the discovery of the Dura frescoes. What was still needed was an official frame to organize the scholarly contributions in this new field. And here we come to the event which has influenced in a most significant way the destiny of this discipline: the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, followed a few years later by the creation of a Department of Art History at the Hebrew University. The development of this very young department is inseparable from the name of Bezalel Narkiss. This very

active, efficient and imaginative scholar, teaching at the University from 1963 on, created year after year new programs, new projects, in Israel and in other countries, wherever he found colleagues ready to collaborate. His activity was organized around three axes: first and foremost to educate a new generation of art historians by providing them with a formation on a scholarly level. The second step was the creation of an international forum, with a periodical as its highlight, to promote and centralize publications on Jewish Art and related fields in a high aesthetical and technical presentation. The periodical, which during the first ten years of its career appeared under the title *Journal of Jewish Art*, then simply *Jewish Art*, was and still is open to all scholars who want to publish new contributions, new discoveries, new ideas on the subject.

A further step was the creation, in 1979, of the Center for Jewish Art. Affiliated to the Hebrew University, the activity of the Center is manifold. It is the place where all graduate students are trained in order to prepare them for an active role as museum curators, educators or art historians. The Center designs projects that lead all over the places where manuscript collections, ceremonial objects or numismatic collections await scientific indexation. In the course of these years, the Center extended its investigations to surviving European synagogues from different periods. With the "fall of the wall" in Berlin and the subsequent opening of the East-European countries, the Center has led repeated campaigns to many cities to record all the synagogue buildings and ceremonial object collections which have survived. The task is immense but also urgent because in the absence of any care for conservation during these long years most of the monuments were found in a disastrous state and some of them have even disappeared since.

Research on the origins of Jewish art has stimulated also studies devoted to later periods of Jewish civilization and lead to results in a wide range of fields. One of the disciplines which has progressed in a spectacular way during the last decades is archaeology, with excavations in and around Jerusalem, and in the Galilee. A great part of what has survived in the area around the Temple can now be visited and freely investigated. In this domain, a precious result of the excavations was to confirm the precision of the descriptions given by Flavius Josephus. The excavations of the Galilean synagogues improved also our knowledge concerning the architecture of the period between the third and the sixth/seventh centuries. There is however one point which seems to be deeply intriguing. Indeed, in spite of the great number of publications devoted to the newly discovered architectural remains, none of them recognized the radical innovation represented by the architectural concept of the synagogues. After the destruction of the Temple, with its space reserved for the Holy of Holies, the new type of cult building, the synagogue, proposed a prayer hall where the religious office became accessible to all members – at least all male members – of the community. This new concept of a cult hall open to all participants represented a revolutionary innovation never attested before in the religious architecture of the

Middle East. Once established in the Jewish cult buildings, this very concept was to be adopted by Christians as well as by Moslems becoming the model according to which were built and still are up to the present day all religious buildings in the Middle East and in Europe. This original, revolutionary concept was inaugurated by the synagogue, the building planned for the Jewish cult. The destruction of the Temple appears hence as having been the turning point in the process of transformation of religious life and in the shaping of its modern ways, not only for Judaism but for all three monotheistic religions. No doubt the buildings are only the formal expressions of a much deeper reality but it is worth noticing that this new concept was created by Judaism.

The destruction of the Temple was also the starting point of further two abstract concepts which played a fundamental role in Jewish doctrine. The two concepts are: absence and expectation. In Judaism, the divine presence, the *Shekinah*, formerly located in the Temple, was henceforth absent and all religious ardour was oriented towards the expectation of the coming of the Messiah. The concepts of absence and expectation were taken over by Christianity, where the contents of the concepts were adapted to the specific historical data of the new religion, orienting expectation towards the second advent of the Messiah. The most expressive artistic symbol of this expectation is found on the west wall of the prayer hall of the Dura synagogue, in the painting above the ciborium, which housed the Torah ark. Belonging to the first decoration program dating from the end of the 2nd century, the painting represents a huge vine richly ornamented with leaves but devoid of fruit (fig. 4). According to the convincing interpretation of Herbert Kessler<sup>6</sup>, this conspicuous absence of grapes alludes to two prophetic texts: Isaiah 4:2, where it is written: "On that day the plant that the Lord has grown shall become glorious in its beauty, and the fruit of the land shall be the pride and splendour of the survivors of Israel". In the same sense, Zecharia 8:12 predicted that on the day the Lord of Hosts comes, "the vine shall yield its fruit". As Kessler remarks, in eliminating the grape clusters from the vine motive the painter of Dura intended to refer to the plant of God that will bear its fruit only in the Messianic age. This symbolism of expectation expressed by the unusual iconography of the Dura painting was also referred to by the new architectural concept of the Jewish religious buildings, the synagogues, through the absence of a space reserved for the divine presence. And, as the same concepts of absence and expectation were also taken over by Christianity, the basic features of synagogue architecture could be adopted without significant changes for use in Christian churches.

The composition representing the vine without fruits has been enriched by a few additional motives during the second phase of the decoration. At the base of the vine two scenes were added, one on each side of the trunk. On the left hand side was

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 153 sq.

painted the scene of Jacob blessing his sons, on the right hand side Jacob, with hands crossed, blessing the sons of Joseph, visualizing precisely the biblical text. A third scene has been added at the top of the vine: the enthroned king Messiah surrounded by the twelve tribes. As Herbert Kessler has rightly pointed out, these three scenes show that the iconography of Dura has been composed to support the Jewish point of view against the Christians in the intense controversy which took place between the two communities during the period when the synagogue was re-decorated. According to the Christian point of view, the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem was the proof that the special covenant of God with the Jews had passed to the Gentiles, and from then on, the Old Testament was to be understood typologically. The Jews defended their own interpretation by clinging to the words of the Bible, particularly to those that bestowed eternal blessings on Israel. Many of the biblical passages represented in the Dura prayer hall are among the central theses of these Jewish-Christian polemics of the second and third centuries. Among them, the sacrifice of Isaac, Jacob's blessings, and the Messiah who was still awaited by the Jews and who, according to them, will be an earthly ruler and restore the Jewish kingdom on earth. These are the principal subjects of the second version of the painting above the ciborium in the Dura synagogue. All of them confirm the Jewish claims against the Christians by visualizing literally the text of the Bible. The Dura scenes proclaimed also that the sufferings of Israel were not to be interpreted as proofs of the passing of divine favour. On the contrary, they confirm that God's protection was still effective, and just as the exiles to Egypt and Babylonia, and the persecutions of Haman, Nebuchadnezzar and the Philistines were thwarted, so will the diaspora end in a golden age under the rule of the Jewish Messiah. The visual rendering of the biblical accounts was particularly effective in asserting this basic message, and it is in prompting the Jews to formulate historical arguments in their pictures that Christianity appears to have played a key role in the development of Jewish art. The Jews realized that narrative art, being accessible to large audiences, was particularly forceful in asserting the historical claims against their antagonists. The Christians then responded by adopting the same method: they adopted even several specific iconographical formulae after having reformulated them to express their own concepts. By the second half of the third century, narrative programs were used by both groups to expose their interpretations. In the following centuries these visual commentaries continued to be refined, enriched and extended to various media.

However, no other continuous biblical illustrations are known from the late antique period on the Jewish side. Yet there is a strong argument to support the existence of a continuous tradition of Bible illustrations within the Jewish civilization. This argument is provided by a series of Sefardi Haggadot of the 14th century which contain, at the head of the ritual, long sequences visualizing the biblical narrative (fig. 5). The specific character of these sequences is that they are not related to the contents of the Passover ritual and do not illustrate its text. This means that they were probably

added to the manuscripts from independent sources. The nature of these sources has not yet been identified. They may have been among the various kinds of manuscripts imported from the Middle East to Spain during the 13th-14th centuries.

Research on manuscripts in general – our main sources and only direct evidence on the cultural life of mediaeval Jewish communities – has benefited from an immense progress during the last decades. As it is known, the scientific examination of manuscripts started already at the end of the nineteenth century. However, the novelty of our days is the interest for aspects never taken in consideration before. Besides the interest for the manuscript as object – raising studies on the parchment, on the various script types and writing tools –, a new and most fertile kind of investigation has been started on the iconographical and ornamental material joined to the texts. Except for some isolated attempts to describe or interpret single data, nothing had been done in this direction before. It is only during these last decades that systematic and methodical descriptions of this material have been started with important realizations such as catalogues of Hebrew manuscripts in the libraries of the British Isles, of Spain, of France, and lately of Saint Petersburg. Others are planned or have already been started, among them in the National Library of Vienna, in the libraries in Moscow, Germany, Poland and Northern Italy. In spite of these great enterprises, research on single manuscripts has not been abandoned. On the contrary, thanks to the wide range of sources these new research tools made accessible, the way was opened to monographs on outstanding artists, on workshops in a definite geographical area, on specific programs created for various types of manuscripts – *mahzor*, *haggadah* –, all questions which can be dealt now with a greater probability to investigate all the documents related to the problem. And owing to the fact that single documents can be investigated in a larger context, very often pieces of information come to light the interest of which goes far beyond the specific field of art history. At times they confirm in a concrete way facts that the intellectual history of a given period have evoked only as a possibility; in other cases they bear witness to social and professional relations unknown before, during periods when, according to official historical reports, Jews and Christians lived in active antagonism<sup>7</sup>.

Striking evidence of these unexpected professional relations is offered by a famous manuscript in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences: the illuminated copy of Moses Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* in the collection of David Kaufmann<sup>8</sup>. The four volumes of this luxurious manuscript are decorated with marginal illustrations the specificity of which is that they do not have the slightest relation to the text. They represent fighting knights and other battle scenes (figs. 6-7), which are, needless to say, totally out of context in Maimonides' legal code. As we have shown

<sup>7</sup> See Gilbert DAHAN, *Les Intellectuels chrétiens et les juifs au Moyen âge*. Paris 1990.

<sup>8</sup> *A Májmuni kódex*. Budapest 1980. English edition: *Codex Maimuni*. Budapest-Frankfurt 1984. Facsimile editions with texts by Alexander SCHEIBER and Gabrielle SED-RAJNA.

elsewhere<sup>9</sup>, these marginal figures have been transferred from a model book used also for several contemporary Latin manuscripts from the same area, executed for the local aristocratic family Bar (fig. 8). These illustrations provide irrefutable witness of the close and unimpeded professional relationship between craftsmen of the two communities, only a few years before the expulsion of the Jews from France.

And the case of the Maimonides codex was not an isolated one. Another well-known example is a beautiful Hebrew manuscript of the British Library (MS Add. 11639) from the same period and the same area, decorated by several sequences of full page paintings (fig. 9), whose artist, as we have tried to prove<sup>10</sup>, was either a Jewish craftsman trained at the workshop of a well-known French miniaturist or a non-Jewish member of the atelier of this painter who has been commissioned to execute the paintings of the manuscript for a Jewish patron.

These few examples show that the academic study of Jewish art is in full flourishing. Great projects are in the making, studies on individual works of art are published in large numbers. One of the latest achievements was the publication of a comprehensive history of Jewish art<sup>11</sup>, offering this time not simply a collection of articles but a systematic chronological analysis of all art creations raised by and realized within the Jewish realm. The visual dimension, which has been so sadly lacking before according to M. Avi-Yonah, is now being restored to this culture.

<sup>9</sup> Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *The Illustrations of the Kaufmann Mishneh Torah* = *Journal of Jewish Art* 6(1979) 64-77.

<sup>10</sup> Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *The Paintings of the London Miscellany* = *Journal of Jewish Art* 9(1982) 18-30.

<sup>11</sup> Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *L'Art juif*. Paris 1995. English edition: New York 1997. German edition: Frankfurt 1997.

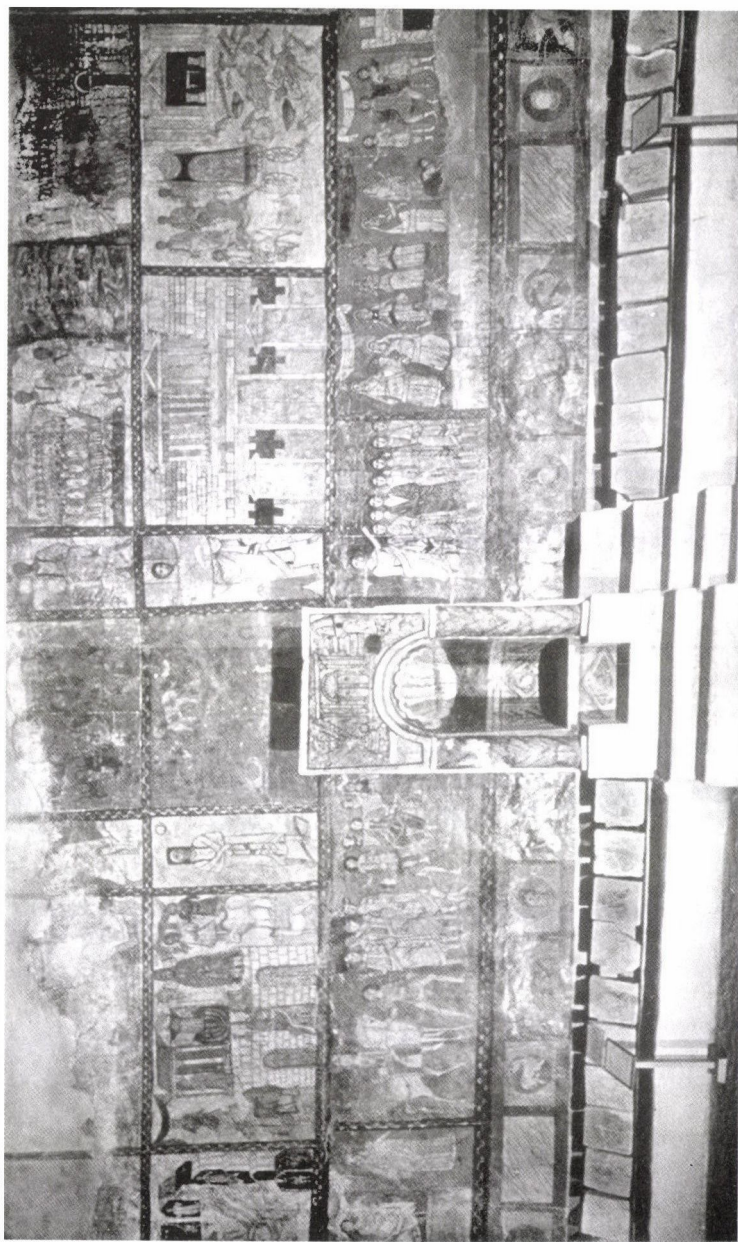


Fig.1. The western wall of the prayer hall of the Dura synagogue.  
244/245 CE.





Fig.2. Mosaic floor of the Beth Alpha synagogue.  
6th c. CE.

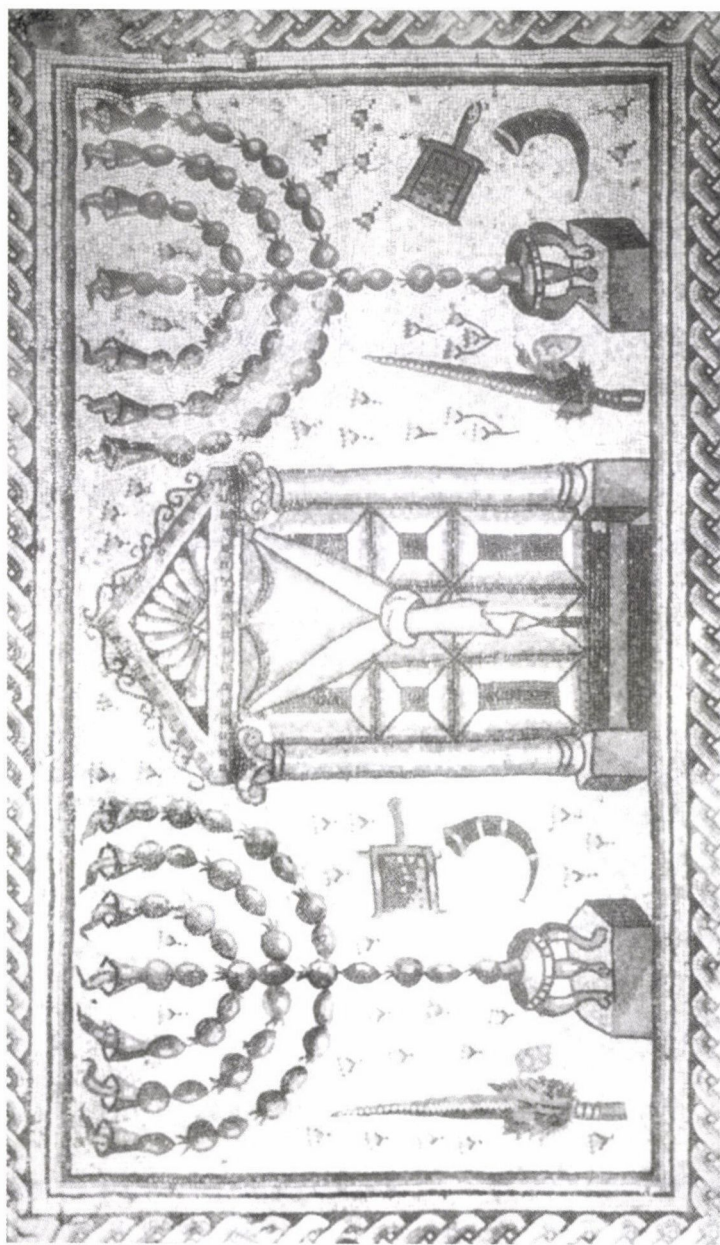


Fig.3. Panel with the Torah ark flanked by menorot in the mosaic of the synagogue of Hammath Tiberias, 4th c. CE.

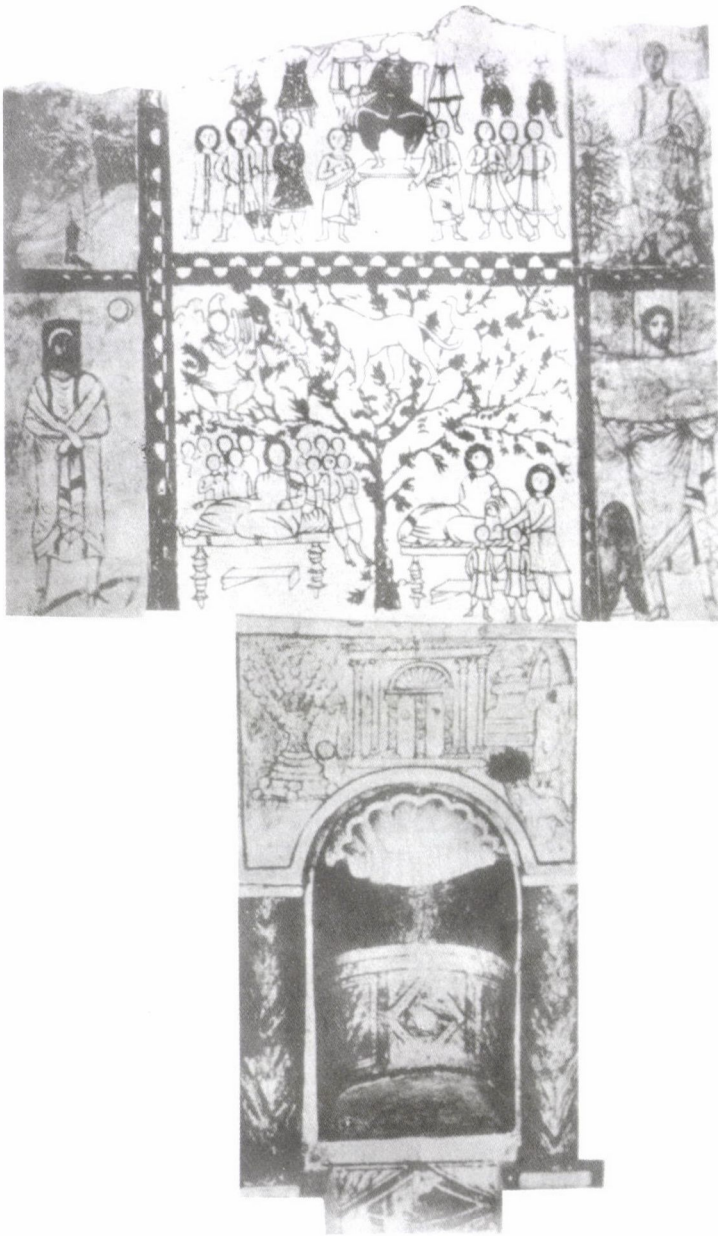


Fig.4. Graphic restitution of the composition above the ciborium in the prayer hall of the Dura synagogue. (After Goodenough).



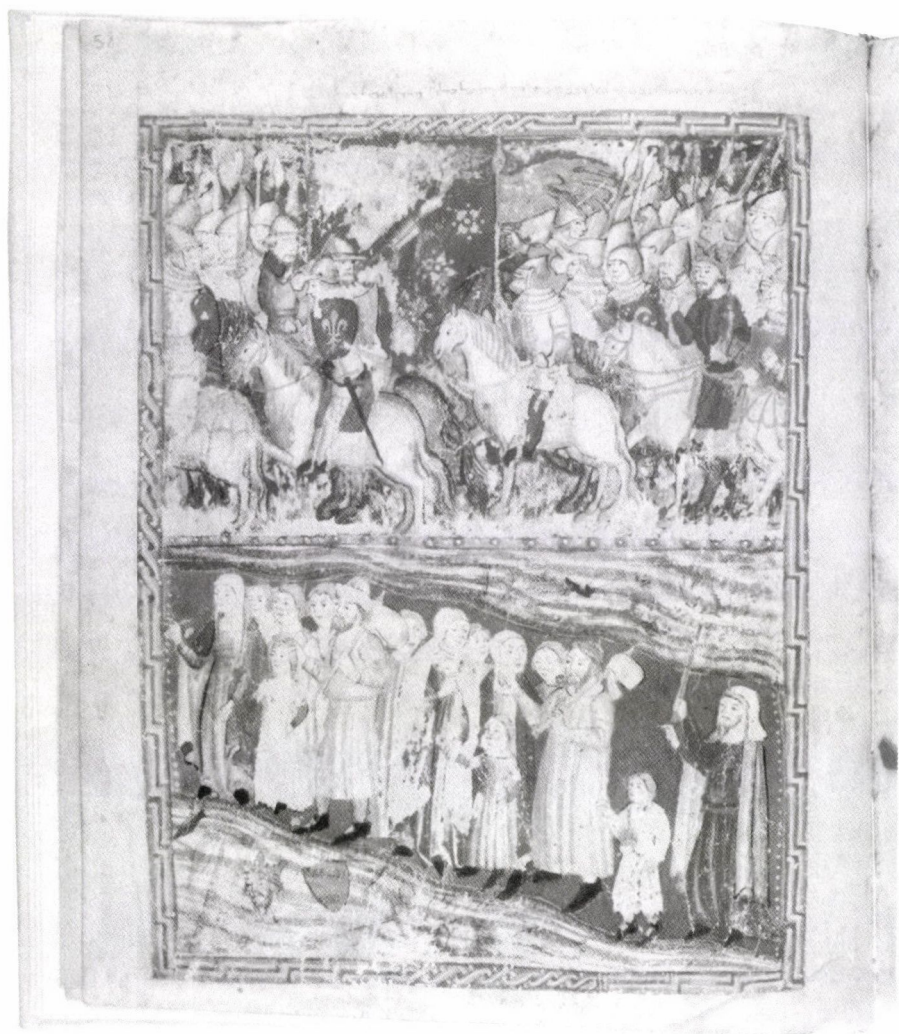


Fig.5. The Israelites crossing the Red Sea. The Kaufmann Haggadah, Spain, 14th c. Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, MS Kaufmann A 422, fol. 58r.



Fig.6. Judah Maccabee. Codex of Maimonides' Mishneh Torah.  
Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, MS Kaufmann A 77/1, fol. 2r.

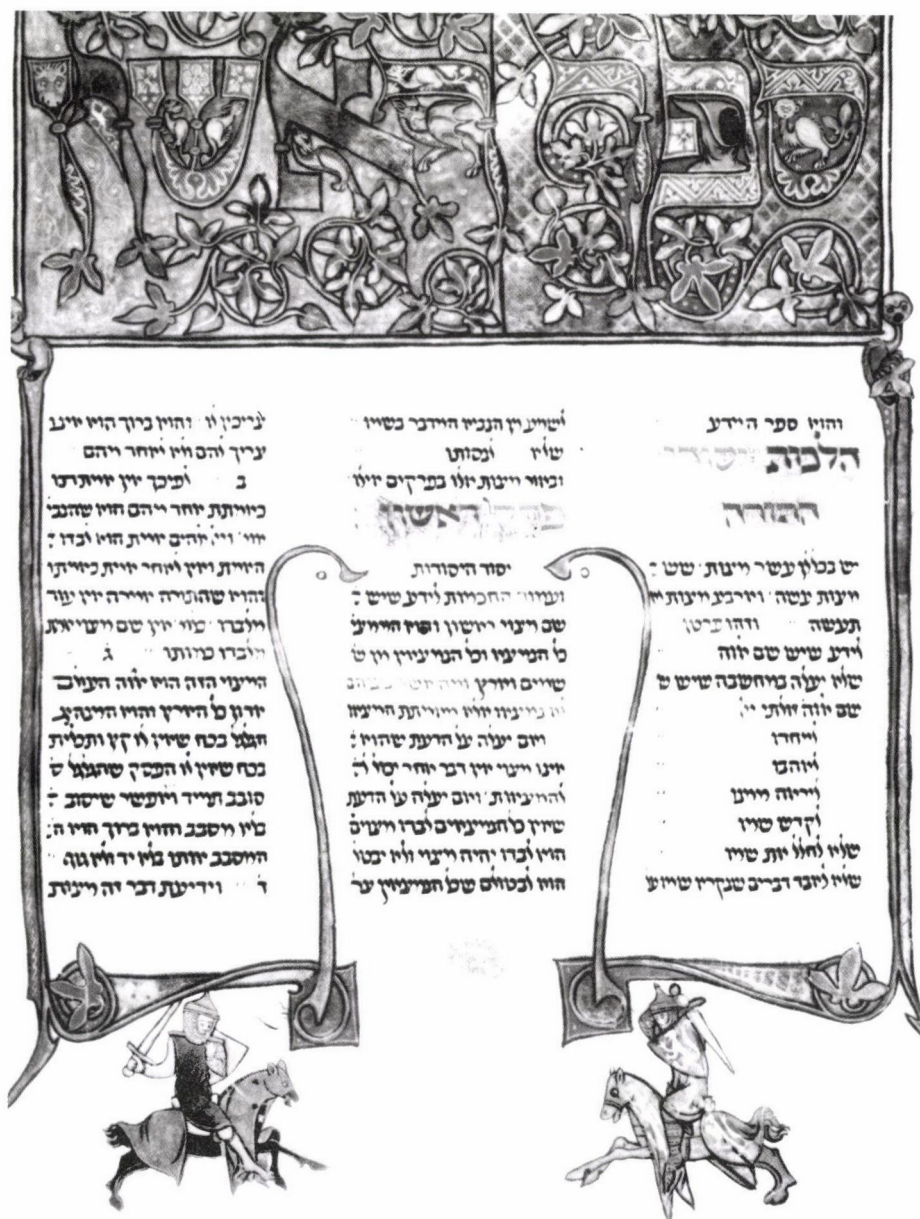


Fig.7. Jousting knights. Codex of Maimonides' Mishneh Torah. Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, MS Kaufmann A 77/1, fol. 16v.



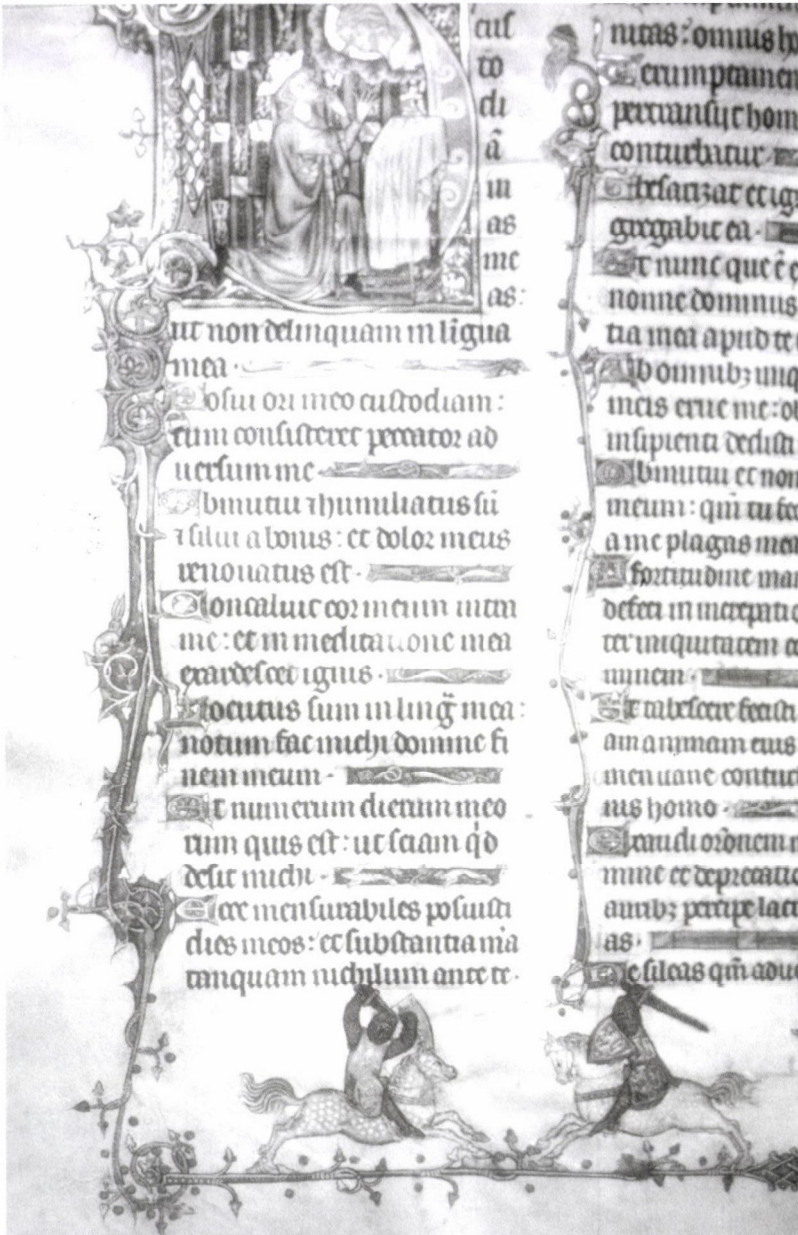


Fig.8. Jousting knights. Breviary of Marguerite de Bar.  
Verdun, Municipal Library, MS 107, fol. 19v.



Fig.9. David and Goliath. London Miscellany.  
London, British Library, MS Add. 11639, fol.523v.



## THE KAUFMANN MISHNEH TORAH ILLUMINATIONS\*

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One of the finest examples of manuscript illumination from medieval Ashkenaz is found in the *Kaufmann Mishneh Torah*, Kaufmann Ms A 77/I-IV. It is exceptional not only in the quality of its decoration, but also in the specific information provided in its colophon concerning the scribe, patron and date of execution. Rarer still for a medieval Hebrew manuscript is the inclusion of portraits of the patrons, here bearing inscriptions, "Abraham" at the top left, for Abraham ben Berekhia, and "Yentil" at the top right for his wife, who in all likelihood was also the scribe's sister.<sup>1</sup>

The colophon<sup>2</sup> specifies that Nathan, son of Shim'on the Levite, copied this book for his brother-in-law R[abbi] Abraham, son of the scholar R[abbi] Berekhia. The manuscript was begun on Thursday, the ninth of Iyyar 5055 [26 April 1295] and completed on the eighth of Elul 5056 [8 August 1296]. After a brief request for blessings the colophon continues, "This book of Maimun was illuminated (*nehrat*) in [the year] [50]56. Blessed is the Almighty Lord, the God of Israel, who has not denied his favor and prayer from me, and has privileged me to write (*likhtov*), complete (*ligmor*) and color (*lismon*) Ibn Maimun's book for my brother-in-law".

The Mishneh Torah is Maimonides' codification of the oral tradition. Organized into fourteen books, it is also referred to as the *Yad ha-hazakah*, the Strong Hand, as *yad* has the numerical equivalent of fourteen.

In the *Kaufmann Mishneh Torah* the introduction and the opening of each of the fourteen books contains an initial word panel with decorations flowing into the borders, and sometimes include biblical scenes at the bottom of the page. The introduction begins with the words *kol ha-mitzvot* placed within a decorated panel containing

\* I am deeply indebted to the late Alexander Scheiber for encouraging me to research the Kaufmann manuscripts at the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and to the library's staff for the exceptional assistance they have provided. I am also grateful to David Wachtel for his many helpful recommendations in the preparation of this text.

<sup>1</sup> This is found at the opening of Book Five, The Book of Holiness, vol. II, fol. 48r.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. IV, fol. 143r.

appendages that embellish the inner and outer margins.<sup>3</sup> At the bottom, additional tendrils rise up to fill the spaces between the three columns of text, while at the center, an image of a sword-wielding knight on horseback is identified by the inscribed words "Yehudah Maccabi". Usually the illustrations seem to bear no relation to the text; occasionally there is some correspondence. For example, the opening page of Book Six<sup>4</sup> includes an image of Samson rending the lion that in this case might relate to the text, as this is the Book of Vows. The rubrics make it clear the laws deal with vows and Nazirites. Other biblical images include David and Goliath at the opening of Book Seven, the Book of Seeds<sup>5</sup> and David playing his harp at the beginning of Book Eight, the Book of Temple Worship.<sup>6</sup> Other openings display decorative motifs that are commonly found in various Hebrew and vernacular manuscripts of this period in the West. Examples include Book Three, the Book of Seasons,<sup>7</sup> with an ape-like figure shooting an arrow into the bird at the left; animals engaged in human-type warfare at the bottom left of the opening of Book Four, the Book of Women;<sup>8</sup> and a sword-wielding centaur at the bottom of Book Nine, the Book of Sacrifices.<sup>9</sup> In the case of the opening of Book Eleven, the Book of Torts,<sup>10</sup> while the birds and hybrid figures are common motifs, the grazing animal above might have been chosen specifically to relate to this text, which deals with damages. Finally, Book Fourteen, the Book of Judges,<sup>11</sup> contains fanciful hybrid figures. In both the biblical figures and the imaginary Gothic forms, the illuminator has rendered motifs that were prevalent in thirteenth-century manuscripts produced for Jews and Christians alike.

Certain illustrative elements in this codex, however, display specifically Christian aspects, some of which have been noted before and others that have not. The manuscript's relationship to non-Jewish illuminations has been examined by several scholars.<sup>12</sup> At present a brief discussion of some strikingly Christian iconographic elements will

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I, fol. 2r.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. II, fol. 90r.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. II, folio 118r.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. III, fol. 1r.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. I, fol. 83r.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. II, fol. 1r.

<sup>9</sup> Vol. III, fol. 57r.

<sup>10</sup> Vol. IV, fol. 1r.

<sup>11</sup> Vol. IV, fol. 108r.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Bezalel NARKISS, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*. Jerusalem 1969. 100.; Joseph GUTMANN, *Hebrew Manuscript Painting*. New York 1978. 84.; Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *The Illustrations of the Kaufmann Mishneh Torah* = *Journal of Jewish Art* 6(1979) 64-77.; Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *The Illuminated Pages of the Kaufmann Mishneh Torah*. In: *Codex Maimuni: Moses Maimonides' Code of Law, The Illuminated Pages of the Kaufmann Mishneh Torah*. Budapest 1984. 27-39.

suffice to shed some light on the relationship between the scribe and the illuminator of the *Kaufmann Mishneh Torah*.

The decoration of Book Two, the Book of Love,<sup>13</sup> has been commented upon by Joseph Gutmann, who noted that the image at the top of the page depicting a man shooting an arrow into the hindquarters of the exposed man at the left is typical of the obscene subjects found in the margins of English and Franco-Flemish Gothic manuscripts. Even more noteworthy is the vignette at the bottom left depicting a woman with a raised distaff and spindle chasing a fleeing fox whose jaws are locked around a rooster's head, which recalls medieval exempla used by Franciscan and Dominican preachers in their sermons. This led Gutmann to consider the possibility that Jewish preachers employed anecdotes similar to those used by Christians.<sup>14</sup> As will become clear, it is more likely an indication of the illuminator's Christian background.

Book Ten, the Book of Purity,<sup>15</sup> includes a depiction of the Sacrifice of Isaac that is similar to many late-thirteenth century Christian examples. Rather than rendering the Binding of Isaac as described in Genesis 22:1-13, here Abraham holds aloft a sword, not a knife, the blade of which is halted by a nimbed angel whose extended left arm points with the index and middle finger to the ram below. The pose is significant as it is commonly employed in Christian art as a gesture of benediction; the thumb, understood as present behind the other two fingers, combines with them numerically to allude to the Trinity. In the *Kaufmann Mishneh Torah*, Isaac is situated directly on a solidly constructed altar. Unlike the description in Genesis, which states that Isaac is bound and placed on the wood upon the altar, here the wood is seen, partially visible, on the ground behind the altar. The unbound Isaac holds up his hands beseechingly, palms together, in a gesture of worship. The Bible makes no mention of him praying but this is the image commonly employed in Christian representations of this scene. One could argue that although seemingly Christian in appearance, the type of depiction found here was so commonplace in the Middle Ages that even Jews used it; this might be true in some circumstances. It cannot be the case, however, with the image found two books later.

At the opening of Book Twelve, the Book of Acquisition,<sup>16</sup> Moses is shown handing the Tablets of the Law to the Israelites who are crammed within the opening of a dark, indistinct form (fig. 1). The scene has been interpreted as a depiction of the

<sup>13</sup> Vol. I, fol. 46v.

<sup>14</sup> GUTMANN, 84.

<sup>15</sup> Vol. III, fol. 81r.

<sup>16</sup> Vol. IV, fol. 32r. Some of the comments concerning the illustration on this page were previously noted by me in *The Artist of the Kaufmann Mishneh Torah*. In: *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies*. Jerusalem 1986. 25-30. and *Moses and the Tablets of the Law in the Kaufmann Mishneh Torah*. In: *Occident and Orient. A Tribute to the Memory of Alexander Scheiber*. Budapest 1988. 53-55.

midrashic account that God threatened the Israelites, who were reluctant to accept the burdensome obligations of the laws, by uprooting Mount Sinai and placing it over them, upside down, as an inverted basket.<sup>17</sup> If the artist intended to illustrate this legend, his execution is illogical, as the Israelites are within, rather than perilously under, the mountain. Rather, the mountain was an afterthought created to cover over the original scene, a depiction commonly found in Christian manuscripts, showing Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law from a half-length, nimbed, personified image of God. In fact, close inspection reveals a hand holding the Tablets of the Law emerging from the mountain. When viewing the folio from behind, a figure with a golden halo is clearly in evidence. The halo is even more easily discerned when viewed under ultra-violet light. The obscured figure beneath the mountain can be made still more visible by viewing a highly contrasted black and white photograph taken from the verso and printed in reverse (fig. 2). A typical example from the same year, 1295, is found in a copy of *La Somme le Roy*<sup>18</sup> where Moses' head is depicted with horns, a common motif in medieval Christian art that was based on a mistranslation of the Hebrew text found in Exodus 34:29-30. In the *Kaufmann Mishneh Torah*, upon close examination it is astonishingly clear that here too Moses' head originally bore horns, which were subsequently scratched off and partially painted over.<sup>19</sup> It is improbable that such imagery would have been created by a Jewish artist. The more likely explanation is that a Christian illuminator was commissioned to depict Moses receiving the Tablets. He then executed the illustration as he typically did in Christian manuscripts; it was an image his Jewish patrons found unacceptable, resulting in the horns' subsequent erasure and the "midrashic coverup".

Another depiction with a Christian origin is found on the opening page of Book Thirteen, the Book of Judgments.<sup>20</sup> In the center of the leaf are animal forms that may allude to the parable of the raven and the fox.<sup>21</sup> At the bottom, Adam and Eve flank the Tree of Knowledge, around which a female-headed snake wraps her body. Gabrielle Sed-Rajna has pointed out that the motif of the female-headed serpent can be traced back to Clement of Alexandria in the second century.<sup>22</sup> Henry Ansgar Kelly has demonstrated the influence of Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, written ca. 1170, on twelfth- and thirteenth-century depictions of the maiden-faced serpent; Peter cited the Venerable Bede as his source for the description of the snake's

<sup>17</sup> SED-RAJNA, *The Illustrations...*, 65. and *The Illuminated Pages...*, 133.

<sup>18</sup> London, British Library Add. Ms. 54180, fol. 5v.

<sup>19</sup> Thérèse and Mendel METZGER, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages: Illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts of the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries*. New York 1982. 296., note 188 also noted the horns had been scratched out.

<sup>20</sup> Vol. IV, fol. 70r.

<sup>21</sup> SED-RAJNA, *The Illuminated Pages...*, 141.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

"countenance of a virgin".<sup>23</sup> Kelly also noted that Peter, who was from Troyes, did not follow the Jewish tradition of the serpent having feet in its original state. Regardless of which model was used by the artist of the *Kaufmann Mishneh Torah*, the iconography found in all four of the pages under discussion clearly exhibits a Christian approach to imagery.

It seems, therefore, that despite the scribe's use of the word *lismon* in the colophon, the illuminator of this manuscript was most likely a Christian. *Lismon* must refer to the application of red and blue ink that was used in the drawing of the diagrammatic text illustrations, the decorating of the catchwords, the adorning of the section headings with scribal pen flourishes, and the writing of certain words and sections of text. *Nehrat*, in contrast, must refer to the expertly executed illuminations on the opening pages, comprising the initial word panels and lush borders, as well as the scenes below. The lavish and sophisticated embellishment of these leaves, often utilizing gold leaf, is far removed from the illustrations within the text composed of simple ink sketches and unrefined diagrams.

Perhaps the most conclusive evidence indicating that the scribe was not the illuminator is found by observing the eventual fate of some of the scribal designs and writing that were undeniably executed by the copyist. At the opening of Book Five,<sup>24</sup> for example, it is clear that the tendrils, which branch out from the illuminated initial word panel to frame the outer and inner margins, cut right through and obliterate part of the red and blue pen decorations that were executed by the scribe. It is unlikely an artist would efface his own work in this way, and it is obvious that the defaced pen decorations were by the hand of the scribe and consistent with the illustrations he executed in red and blue within the text. Book Five, in fact, seems to have been a turning point in the decoration of this manuscript; perhaps as a result of seeing the disregard with which the illuminator treated his ink drawings, the copyist ceased to decorate the remaining opening pages.

Another example of the lack of care taken by the illuminator regarding the work of the copyist is found in the list of the contents found at the opening of each book. Here the scribe enumerated each item by employing Hebrew letters executed in red ink. This common numbering practice was used by the copyist throughout the manuscript. At the opening of Book One, the Book of Knowledge,<sup>25</sup> the illuminator has actually obliterated the numbers. Again, this is not likely to have been done by the scribe; moreover, it is not likely to have been done by anyone who could read Hebrew. It seems that while writing the text the scribe numbered the contents and

<sup>23</sup> See Henry Ansgar KELLY, *The Metamorphoses of the Eden Serpent During the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Viator 1971. 301-328. I would like to thank Joseph Gutmann for bringing this publication to my attention.

<sup>24</sup> Vol. II, fol. 48r.

<sup>25</sup> Vol. I, fol. 16v.

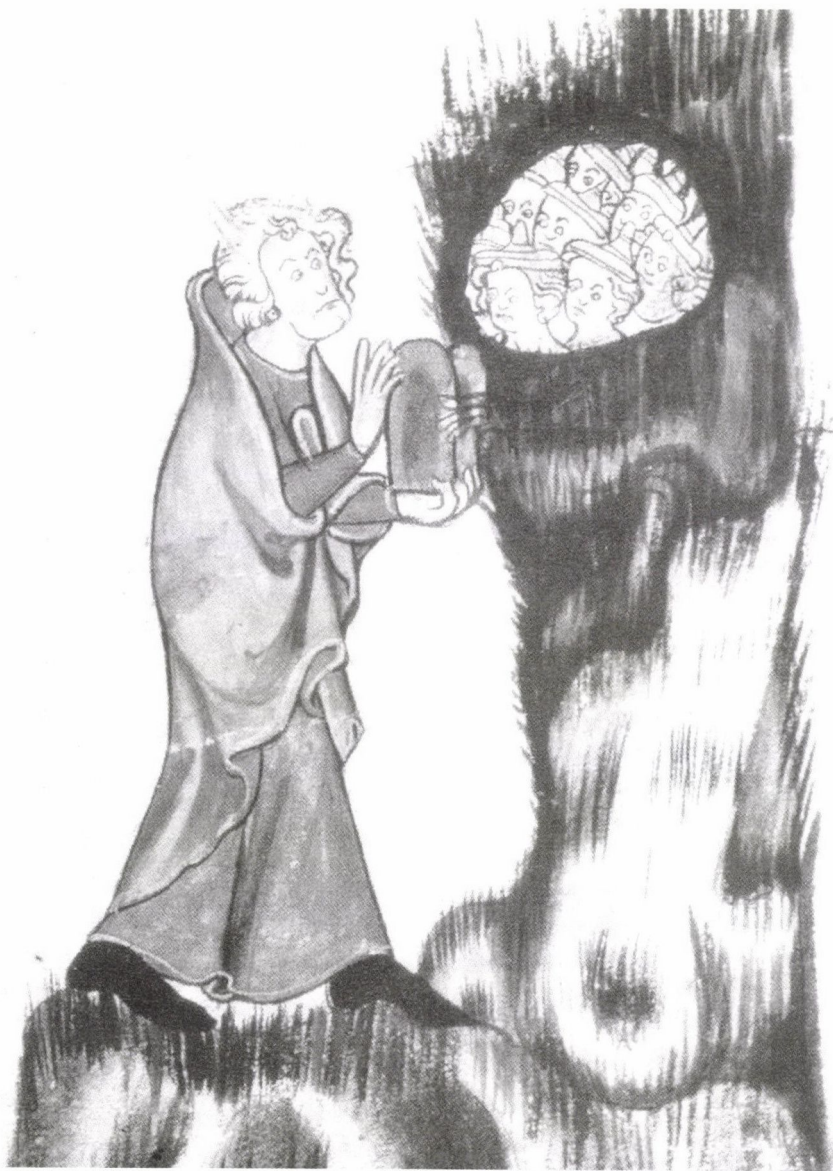


Fig.1. Moses presenting the Tablets of the Law to the Israelites,  
*Kaufmann Mishneh Torah*, IV, fol. 32r.



Fig.2. Photograph taken from verso and printed in reverse showing  
Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law from God,  
*Kaufmann Mishneh Torah*, IV, fol. 32r.

decorated the titles in colored ink. The folio was then sent to the illuminator who added the gold leaf and expensive pigments, creating luminous decorations within the initial word panel, in the margins, and on the figures of the jousting knights.<sup>26</sup>

The *Kaufmann Mishneh Torah* sheds light on the process of production of lavish Hebrew manuscripts in the Middle Ages. First the copyist wrote the text, including the titles, subject headings and simple text illustrations, which were executed in black, blue or red ink. Upon completion, the bifolios, probably grouped as quires, were sent to the illuminator, an artist adept at working with fragile gold leaf and precious pigments. After the illuminations were added, the quire was then returned to the scribe who reviewed the folios to ascertain their arrangement in the proper order. In the *Kaufmann Mishneh Torah*, once the scribe noticed the damage to his penwork in the opening page of Book Five, he ceased to add decorations at the beginning of the books. From this point on the alphanumeric notations of each book's contents clearly were added only after the illumination was completed; later books have their numbers placed around the decoration and are no longer obliterated by it. It is clear, therefore, the illuminator was unfamiliar with Hebrew and disinterested in the copyist's penwork. This forced the Jewish scribe to adjust his practices to ensure his work was not obliterated by the Christian artist. The result is an exceptional manuscript in which the contributions of both the scribe and the illuminator still shine for us today.

<sup>26</sup> It is noteworthy that the gold letters were originally written in blue; probably the scribe wrote them in ink first and the illuminator added the gold later.



## RESTORATION OF TWO 14TH CENTURY HEBREW CODICES

Ildikó Beöthy-Kozocsa  
(Budapest)

One of the valuable Hebrew manuscripts of the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences is the illuminated parchment codex MS Kaufmann A 422, which forms part of the collection of the late David Kaufmann. It is widely known as the *Kaufmann Haggadah*<sup>1</sup>.

It was sent to the Restoring Laboratory of the National Széchényi Library on account of its badly damaged condition in 1985. Its restoration was completed in 1987. The size of the codex leaves is 18.5x22 cm, it is written on parchment and contains 60 folios (120 pages). David Heinrich Müller and Julius von Schlosser described the Kaufmann Haggadah in 1898<sup>2</sup>. In his own catalogue of the Kaufmann Collection Max Weisz simply borrowed Müller's and von Schlosser's description of our manuscript, where they state – among others – that the manuscript is damaged and its leaves have been truncated and rounded.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, the paring may have taken place before 1898, presumably in order to make the damages to the edges of the leaves disappear during a rebinding. Perhaps it was then that the codex received the simple parchment cover which covered it also before the restoration. As a consequence of the crude rounding, the marginal decorations were radically truncated and considerable parts of the figures are missing in the illuminations in many places. We can only guess the extent of the deficiencies: it is probably not less than

<sup>1</sup> *The Kaufmann Haggadah*. Facsimile edition of MS 422 of the Kaufmann Collection in the Oriental Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Introd. by Alexander Scheiber. Budapest 1957. A new facsimile-edition appeared in 1990, which shows the manuscript after restoration: *The Kaufmann Haggadah*. Budapest 1990.

<sup>2</sup> David Heinrich MÜLLER – Julius von SCHLOSSER, *Die Bilderhaggaden der europäischen Sammlungen*. In: David Heinrich MÜLLER – Julius von SCHLOSSER, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo. Eine spanisch-jüdische Bilderhandschrift des Mittelalters. Nebst einem Anhang von Prof. Dr. David Kaufmann in Budapest*. Wien 1898. 187-199 [IV. Italienische Handschriften. 1. Haggadah im Besitze von Prof. Dr. David Kaufmann in Budapest].

<sup>3</sup> Max WEISZ, *Katalog der hebräischen Handschriften und Bücher in der Bibliothek des Prof. Dr. David Kaufmann s. A.* Frankfurt 1906. 146.

1.5-2 centimetres. The lower corners of the leaves, approximately one-third of them, are heavily damaged and truncated, presumably owing to excessive use. In these places the edges of the parchment have become brown, hardened and rather fragile. In some places the leaves were soiled by grease stains from fingerprints and moisture stains. The reverse sides of the full-page illuminations were left empty by the miniator. On several of these leaves stains were left by the glue which seeped in from the saddle of the book during lamination. The bookbinder strung the sheets on six narrow parchment ribbons and slipped these in the usual way through the parchment cover, fixing the body of the book to the paper-lined cover in this way. The "repair" of the torn sheets with patches of Scotch tape may have taken place in the course of the past decades. The well-known harmful property of the self-adhesive plastic tapes – that the plasticizer in the adhesive material yellows in time, migrates and almost always dissolves the ink text under it – has in this case fortunately not caused significant damage. The reason is that in this case the patches of Scotch tape did not cover the writing or the miniatures. Nevertheless, the parchment turned darker in these places.

An unusually thick parchment had been chosen for the manuscript, although there are some thinner ones, too, among the leaves. The parchment has hardened, is a bit wavy and has become exaggeratedly desiccated. Folio 16 is heavily wrinkled and deformed, the parchment may originally have been faulty here, too, but nevertheless was written on. There is no miniature or any other decoration on it. In several places the traces of insect damage can be seen in the form of small holes.

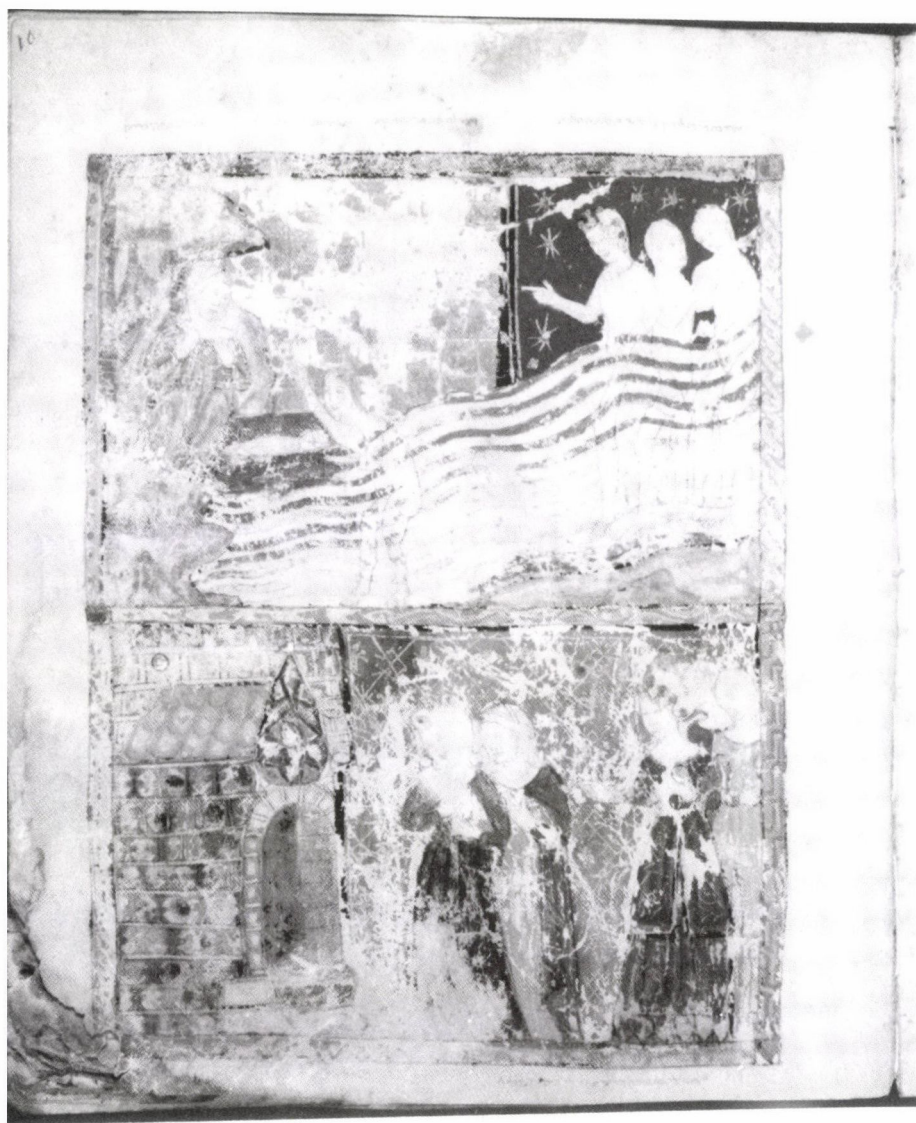
The ink of the manuscript is worn or damaged only in a few places, but the paint of the miniatures and marginal decorations is heavily worn, brittle, cracked or has come off. According to the pre-restoration results of the testing of the ink and the paint<sup>4</sup>, the ink has an Arabic gum binding agent and is in fact lamp-black. It was with the same ink, more heavily diluted, that the pictures were sketched, the geometric patterns traced and the ready-gilt letters framed in conclusion. After the preparation of the drawing, an unusually thick – approximately 2 mm – glued chalk foundation was put on. The chalk received its hue of bone colour from the addition of extremely small quantities of azurite, red ochre and carbon black: this can be detected only under a microscope. On this the gold leaf was pasted with eggwhite, it was then polished and cut round. After this, the primary colour of the decoration was painted on, then the colours and finally the gilt letters were framed in black – mostly decorated by a dotted line of white lead.

While making the miniatures, blue was also used under the gilding. The paints are lead white, minium, malachite, chrysocolla, ochre red, lamp-black: according to the analysis, the claret, pink and violet are organic paints. The binding agent of the pigments is a mixture of Arabic gum and eggwhite. From among the paints, the claret foil and the green malachite bled to the reverse side of the parchment. Especially the

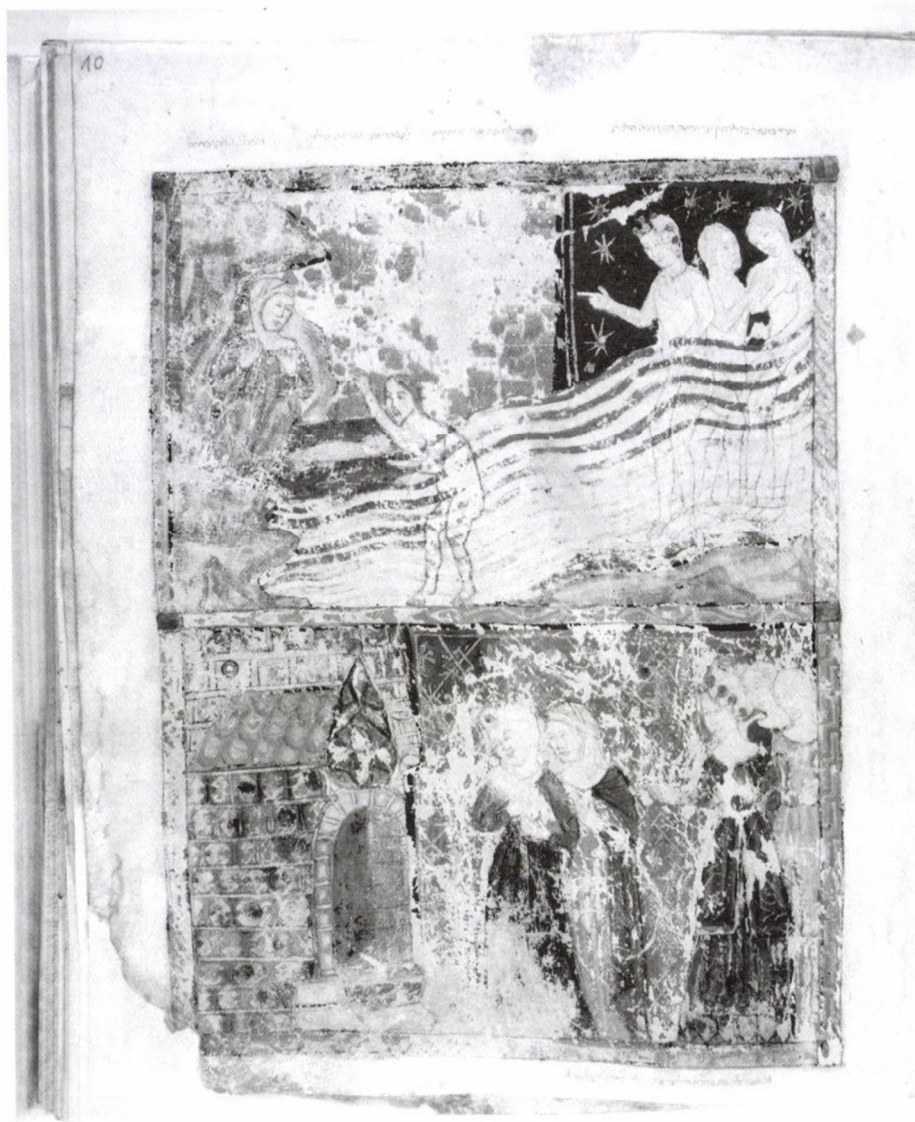
<sup>4</sup> The analysis was done by Zoltán Szabó, the data come from his expert opinion.

latter is very brittle and worn. Owing to the too thick primary colour, the gilt letters are flawed and the gilding has become deficient in these cases. With the aim of compensating for the deficiencies, at some time these places were painted over by gilt or brownish (bronze?) paint. It came to light in the course of the restoration that these worn paints had also been tampered with in the course of previous efforts of repairing the blue and the red in the first place. In these places, the shade of the paints and their solvency differed from the original paints. To be more exact: while from among the various kinds of alcohol, methanol is the only one that does not dissolve either the ink or the original paints, it dissolves the blue colour and also the claret in some places but only to a small extent, and it does so more and more with the progress of time – it can be seen clearly that these colours have been added later.

After the solvency tests of the paints, we lifted the body of the book out of the soft parchment binding. In order to replace the faulty numbering of the folios we renumbered them and then broke up the manuscript into its quires. We cleaned gently the dusty, dirty surface of the parchment – with the exception of the painted surfaces – with rubber powder, and the heavier greasy stains with an electrical rubbing machine. After this we completely succeeded in removing the patches of Scotch tape with acetone. With the help of an aquarelle brush and a magnifying glass we coated the cracked gildings in several layers with an eggwhite emulsion prepared on the basis of our own experiments. In its composition the emulsion was similar to the primer used in the preparation of gilding. It penetrated the cracks and secured the particles which were ready to separate. After this we also had to fix the unstable layers of paint and had to even out the wavy leaves in order to reduce the differences in surface tension which had occurred due to the corrugation, which may have been one of the reasons of the cracking and separation of the layers of ink. At the same time, we would have liked to somewhat relax and soften the parchment leaves which had become too hard, rigid and desiccated. We wanted to achieve all this by submitting the damaged miniatures and the parchment vehicle to a treatment which was as gentle and short-lasting as possible. We prepared a plan by which we could realise the three aims mentioned in a single work process. Since the parchment manuscript had to be protected from moisture on account of the extraordinary sensitivity of the paints and ink to water, and since we knew that methanol was the only solvent which – because of the treatment lasting only a short time – was completely free of danger, we applied the following method: we conditioned the manuscript in the course of a few weeks in the climate of the restoring workshop and then placed the leaves in the following solution for a duration of 5-10 minutes under close observation: we dissolved hydroxypropyl cellulose (Klucel M) in methanol in a 2% proportion, placed the leaves one by one on a protective paper and thus immersed them in the bath. After having taken them out, we dried the leaves, placed them between "Bondina" (British-made polyester) sheets, put them between layers of felt and wooden boards, frequently checking their condition during the whole process. Alternating the "Bondina" sheets and



MS Kaufmann A 422, fol. 10r.  
Before restoration



MS Kaufmann A 422, fol. 10r.  
After restoration





MS Kaufmann A 422, fol. 11v.  
Before restoration



MS Kaufmann A 422, fol. 11v.  
After restoration

the layers of felt we slowly raised the compression with weights. In this way, the leaves dried slowly and became perfectly even. The hydroxy-propyl cellulose fixed the unstable layer of paint in an invisible, fine dispersion. The originally hard and rigid parchment leaves became more flexible, elastic and softer to touch.

The task of the restoration of the damaged parchment was still ahead of us. We covered the tears on the damaged parts of the letters with goldbeater's skin (fully transparent genuine cattle appendix membrane), and used as a glue the mixture of rice starch and a little polyvinyl acetate adhesive. On the corners of the leaves there were bigger deficiencies, and these we complemented with new writing parchment. We restored the smaller deficiencies and insect bites with parchment pulp. The preservation and restoration of the manuscript was finished by the complementation of the truncated parts and complete drying which lasted several weeks. After this we beaded the sheets on parchment strips provided with flyleaves, made of Japanese tissue. To prevent the exaggerated "movement" of the parchment, we bound the boards together with ribbons and placed the manuscript in a cardboard folder for protection.

The Hebrew manuscript Kaufmann A 384 was produced on South-German territory around 1320. It is volume 1 of the so-called *Tripartite Mahzor*. Volume 2 is kept in the British Library and volume 3 in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.

MS Kaufmann A 384 was restored in the Restoring Laboratory of the National Széchényi Library in 1987-88. It consists of 251 illuminated parchment leaves, the size of which is 33x22 cm. Presumably it was David Kaufmann who had it bound in its present cover. The body of the book is covered by a simple, light brown calf-skin binding. The binding has survived in a rather good condition. The binder sawed the sheets in three places at the saddle and then threaded them on a hemp-cord. The ink of the manuscript is lamp-black and it has remained in a well-preserved condition, whereas the colourings of mineral or plant origin of the illustrations and miniatures have become smudged in several places, or have bled to the reverse sides respectively. The gilding, having peeled off, is cracked or deficient in some places. At some time, as it was being rebound, the manuscript could have been affected by moisture which had penetrated from the saddle, as a consequence of which the parchment was attacked by mildew and bacteria (presumably actinomyces). The first twenty-five leaves are especially heavily damaged, truncated at the head, with dark violet discolourings and stains around the middle of the leaves. In these places there are holes and deficiencies in the text, too. Probably during the rebinding of the manuscript, thick paper or parchment manuscript fragments and hinge patches were stuck on the damaged parts. The patches partly cover the text, too. On it traces of gnawings of the grubs of the drugstore beetle (*Stegobium paniceum*) are visible. The centres of the sheets, which had become decayed at the saddle, were strengthened by exaggeratedly thick paper strips and this caused the wrinkling of the parchment. After threading the sheets, the saddle was also thickly coated with bone-glue.



Before starting the restoration, we lifted the body of the book out of the board, softened and then removed the thick layer of glue from the saddle with a methyl cellulose solution. After this we divided the manuscript into its sheets. We removed the pieces of parchment and paper covering the damages to the manuscript in many places.

We carried out the disinfection of the codex with ethyl-alcoholic solution of p-chloride-metacresol (Preventol CMK), by spraying the liquid on the leaves one by one. The disinfectant provides also preventive protection against later reinfections. We treated only the wavy and deformed leaves (sixteen altogether) in a methanol bath in the way described in connection with MS Kaufmann A 422.

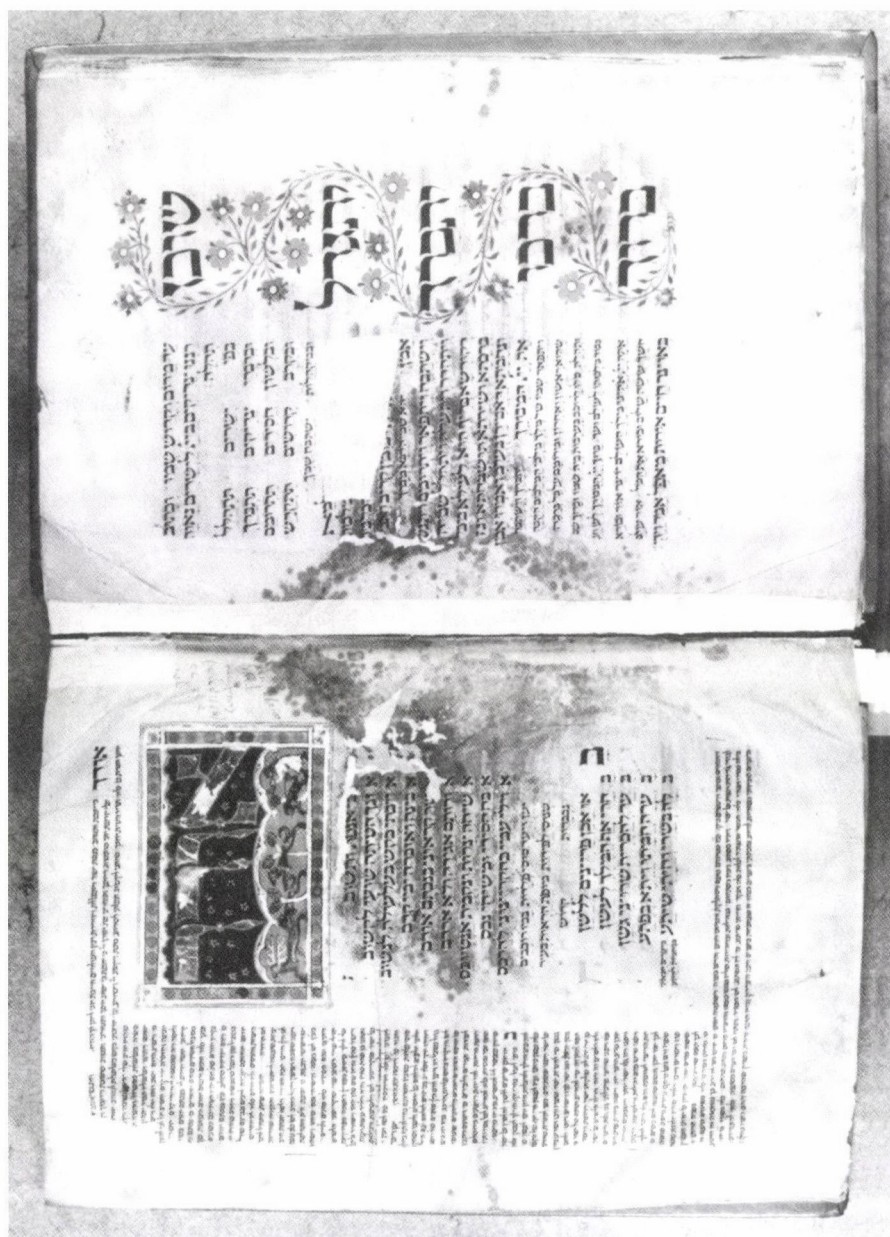
After dusting and careful cleaning with india-rubber powder, we fixed the cracked genuine gold decorations with the already mentioned eggwhite emulsion.

For the purpose of fixing, we coated the damaged layers of paint with a thin layer of wax dissolved in carbon tetrachloride with an aquarelle brush.

After this, the completion of the truncated parchment leaves followed. Many leaves were held together from the side of the saddle only by the thick layer of glue or by paper strips. After cleaning, sheets had to be made of the single leaves with parchment strips and goldbeater's skin.

The weakened and deficient parchments damaged by micro-organisms were complemented with our new method, the so-called 'parchment-casting'. We have applied the process successfully for some years in the restoration of parchment manuscripts.<sup>5</sup> We prepare parchment pulp out of fibres soaked in the mixture of water and ethyl alcohol made from parchment and Japanese tissue adding natural adhesives and disinfectant to the solution. The operation of parchment-casting is done on a vacuum table. We place a polyamide sieve on the top of the vacuum table made from perforated plexiglass. Then we place on it a finer silk sieve, and put on it one leaf of the parchment manuscript prepared by suitable treatments. We slightly wet it by spraying ethyl-alcohol and start the air exhaustion. Thus, the leaf adheres closely to the perforated board. We pour the pulp onto the deficient spots, it expands and fairly soon most of the moisture is removed by the air exhaustion. The surface of the table can be lit from below, and thus the faulty spots are clearly visible. No pulp must be put on the written parts of the parchment. We lift the complemented leaf from the vacuum table together with the silk sieve and further dry it between filter papers. After drying them over several weeks, we made sheets out of the leaves, threaded these on hemp-cord, made the body of the book in the usual way and returned it into the preserved and repaired leather binding. We cleaned and preserved the paper and manuscript fragments which earlier covered the injuries of the manuscript. Finally,

<sup>5</sup> Ildikó BEÖTHY-KOZOCSA, Dr. Teréz SIPÓS-RICHTER, Györgyi SZLABEY, *Report on Parchment Codex Restoration by Parchment and Cellulose Fibre Pulp*. In: *ICOM Committee for Conservation. 8<sup>th</sup> Triennial Meeting. Reprints, Sydney, 6-11 Sept. 1987*. vol.II. 641-648.



MS Kaufmann A 384, fols. 17v-18r.  
Before restoration



MS Kaufmann A 384, fols. 17v-18r.  
After restoration

together with the documentation containing the process of restoration, the codex was returned to its original repository.

The restored parchment manuscripts must be stored in climatic conditions meeting the following prescriptions: relative air moisture must be between 55-60 %, temperature between 18-20°C, and the manuscript must be protected from larger fluctuations in temperature and relative moisture. In such circumstances the parchment will not become corrugated again or be deformed, and the miniatures will remain intact even for centuries<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> I owe thanks to István Ormos of the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences who informed me of valuable data about the manuscripts. This information was of great help to me in the planning and implementation of the restoration.

# DAVID KAUFMANN: DENKER, GELEHRTER, VISIONÄR ZUR GESCHICHTE SEINER GENIZAH-SAMMLUNG IN BUDAPEST ANHAND EINES BISLANG UNVERÖFFENTLICHTEN BRIEFES

Hermann I. Schmelzer  
(St.Gallen)

## Person und Werk

David Kaufmann war von 1877 bis zu seinem frühzeitigen wie tragischen Hinschied im Jahre 1899 Professor für jüdische Religionsphilosophie, Geschichte und Homiletik sowie Bibliothekar am Rabbinerseminar in Budapest.<sup>1</sup>

Kaufmann gehört zu den bedeutenden jüdischen Gelehrten des 19. Jahrhunderts, welche die Wissenschaft des Judentums mitbestimmt haben. Die Wissenschaft des Judentums hat im 19. Jahrhundert eine produktiv-spannungsvolle Forschungsrichtung geschaffen, die, aller Kritik ungeachtet, sich bis in unsere Gegenwart als richtungsweisend herausgestellt hat.<sup>2</sup>

Kaufmann war ein "Literaturverliebter", so wie man den Begriff des Philologen wörtlich übersetzt und diesen Begriff sinngemäss versteht. Die Themen und Stoffe Kaufmanns umfassten ein Panorama, das neben philosophischen auch historische und literarische sowie kultur- und kunstgeschichtliche Bereiche umfasst. Will man einen Schwerpunkt in seinem enzyklopädischen Schaffen erkennen, so lag er wohl bei

<sup>1</sup> Zu Kaufmanns Biographie: S. KRAUSS, *David Kaufmann 7 juin 1852-6 juillet 1899* = *Revue des Études Juives* 41(1900) 1-30.; ausführlicher: S. KRAUSS, *David Kaufmann. Eine Biographie*. Berlin 1901; F. ROSENTHAL, *David Kaufmann Biographie*. In: M. BRANN / F. ROSENTHAL (Hrsg.), *Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kaufmann*. Breslau 1900. I-LVI; A. BRÜLL, *David Kaufmann* = *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (ADB)* 51(1906) 81-84.

<sup>2</sup> G. SCHOLEM, *Überlegungen zur Wissenschaft vom Judentum*. In: Idem, *Judaica* 6. *Die Wissenschaft vom Judentum*. Hrsg. v. Peter SCHÄFER. [Bibliothek Suhrkamp, 1269]. Frankfurt/M. 1997. 9-52; vgl. auch G. SCHOLEM, *Wissenschaft vom Judentum einst und jetzt*. In: Idem, *Judaica* [1]. Hrsg. v. Rolf TIEDEMANN. [Bibliothek Suhrkamp, 106] Frankfurt/M. 1963. 147-164; repräsentativ auch die Einschätzung durch I. SCHORSCH, in: *From Text to Context. The Turn to History in Modern Judaism*. [Tauber Institute for the Study of European Jewry series, 19] Hanover 1994. 153: "Wissenschaft des Judentums is the most important legacy of German Jewry... In its transcending of constraints, modern Jewish scholarship is the intellectual counterpart to the political freedom of emancipation".

den jüdisch-theologischen Denkern und Ethikern des Mittelalters und der jüdischen Geschichte und Kulturhistorie des 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert. Bahnbrechend sind seine Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der jüdischen Familienforschung, der Archäologie, der wissenschaftlichen Bearbeitung jüdischer Handschriften und der Kunstgeschichte der hebräischen Handschriftenillustrationen. Die Zahl seiner Publikationen übersteigt weit seine Lebensjahre. Es liegen etwa 600 Publikationen Kaufmanns vor: Aufsätze, Beiträge, Besprechungen und Studien, deren achtzehn in Buchform,<sup>3</sup> und der ganze Umfang ist noch gar nicht erschlossen. Diese Quantität beeindruckt nicht weniger durch die Qualität der Inhalte. Die Arbeiten Kaufmanns widerspiegeln eine fabelhafte Belesenheit in den handschriftlichen und gedruckten Quellen, ein analytisches Denken, gepaart mit einem ganz eigenen, dichterischen Stil. Seine Worte über Leopold Zunz lassen sich auf Kaufmann selbst übertragen: "Ein über den Einzelheiten nie das Ganze aus den Augen verlierender Blick. Eine neben dem Zug ins Grosse und Volle auch dem Kleinen und Besonderen zugewandte Gründlichkeit".<sup>4</sup>

Kaufmanns Studien bilden ein eindrückliches Fundament, auf welches die heutige Wissenschaft noch bauen kann. Seine Arbeiten können gewiss ergänzt, aber nicht ersetzt werden. Dieser Gelehrte besass ein intuitives Gespür, er sah, was alle anderen sahen, etwas schärfer und setzte sich wissenschaftliche Aufgaben und Ziele, welche andere nicht einmal erahnten. Er machte es sich zur besonderen Aufgabe, alles handschriftlich Überlieferte wissenschaftlich zu prüfen, zu verarbeiten und zu veröffentlichen. Eine wissenschaftliche und editorische Leistung, welche nicht genug hoch eingeschätzt werden kann.

Bei der Beurteilung seines wissenschaftlichen Frühwerks *Die Theologie des Bachja Ibn-Pakuda* (1874) wurde folgendes hervorgehoben: "Die Erkenntnis des theologischen Systems Bachjas ist in wesentlichen Punkten gefördert.... durch Benutzung von zum Teil noch ungedrucktem handschriftlichen Material sind neue Ergebnisse gewonnen worden".<sup>5</sup> Es sollte zum Kennzeichen seiner Arbeit werden, bislang nicht veröffentlichtes Material archivarischer oder epigraphischer Natur zu bearbeiten.

<sup>3</sup> M. BRANN, *Verzeichniss der Schriften und Abhandlungen David Kaufmann's*. In: BRANN/ROSENTHAL (Hrsg.), *Gedenkbuch...*, (zit. in Note 1), LVII-LXXXVII: S. POZNANSKI, *Zusätze zu Dr. M. Brann's Verzeichnis...*, = *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie* 5(1901) 173-174; M. BRANN im Vorwort zu D. KAUFMANN, *Gesammelte Schriften*. Dritter Band, Frankfurt/M 1915. VIII-IX.

<sup>4</sup> Leopold ZUNZ, *Gesammelte Schriften*. Erster Band. Hrsg. von M. BRANN. Frankfurt/M. 1908. 348.

<sup>5</sup> Jahresbericht des Jüdisch-Theologischen Seminars... Breslau 1875. IV.

## Der Sammler

Es war eine besondere Liebe Kaufmanns, verschüttete Denkmäler der jüdischen Vergangenheit, epigraphischer oder textlicher Art, aufzuspüren und zu edieren. Zusammen mit Abraham Berliner (1833-1915) gründete er im Jahre 1884/1885 den Verein "Mekize-Nirdamim" neu, welcher die Herausgabe bislang unveröffentlichter mittelalterlicher hebräischer Texte zum Ziel hatte. Kaufmann selbst hatte den Aufruf zur Neugründung dieser Vereinigung verfasst und blieb stets ein zentraler Förderer des Vereins und seiner Veröffentlichungen.<sup>6</sup>

Kaufmann war eben nicht nur Gelehrter und Herausgeber, sondern auch Liebhaber und Sammler seltener – überwiegend hebräischer – Bücher und Handschriften. Seine Heirat im Jahre 1881 mit Irma Gomperz, welche einer der wohlhabendsten jüdischen Familien des 19. Jahrhunderts in Budapest entstammte, ermöglichte ihm den finanziellen Spielraum für den Erwerb bibliophiler Kostbarkeiten.

Kaufmann stellt sich nicht ohne Stolz seinem Briefpartner Paul Georg von Möllendorf (1847-1901) im Jahre 1894 als Sammler vor. Er schreibt: "Ich muss mich Ihnen nemlich auch als Sammler vorstellen und schwelge bei dem Gedanken Ihnen einmal in Europa, wenn Sie dem Besuche von Pest nur die nöthige Zeit widmen werden, meine nicht mehr ganz belanglosen handschriftlichen Erwerbungen vorführen zu dürfen. Ich habe dieser meiner Leidenschaft schon erkleckliche Summen gewidmet und lasse immer noch in Italien, Palästina und jetzt auch in Tunis für mich suchen".<sup>7</sup>

Samuel Krauss (1866-1948) veröffentlicht in einer Biographie über Kaufmann einige Briefe von einem gewissen M. Adelman an Kaufmann. Daraus geht hervor, dass Adelman, von Kaufmann dazu beauftragt, im Jahre 1884 seltene Bücher und Manuskripte im damaligen Palästina erwarb.<sup>8</sup>

## Handschriftenfunde in El-Fajjum

Im ägyptischen El-Fajjum wurden 1877/78 in den Ruinen eines alten Gebäudes zehntausende von Schriftstücken, Papyri in arabischer, aramäischer, griechischer, koptischer, altiranischer und nicht zuletzt hebräischer Sprache gefunden. Diese Schriftstücke galten damals als Sensation und als eine der wichtigsten Entdeckungen in diesem Bereich. In diesen Archivalien fand sich eine ganze Bibliothek, deren

<sup>6</sup> F. ROSENTHAL, *Briefe Prof. Kaufmann's an Berliner*. In: A. FREIMANN / M. HILDESHEIMER (Hrsg.), *Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstage Abraham Berliners*. Frankfurt / M. 1903. 301, 303.

<sup>7</sup> E. MITTWOCH, *Briefwechsel zwischen David Kaufmann und Paul-Georg von Möllendorf* = *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 76(1932) 401.

<sup>8</sup> S. KRAUSS, *David Kaufmann*. Eine Biographie. Berlin 1901. Anhang 56-57.

Schriftstücke sich zeitlich von ca. 1400 vor bis 1400 nach christlicher Zeitrechnung datieren lassen. Die Funde weckten das Interesse der Fachgelehrten aus aller Welt, und zahlreiche Stücke davon sind in den Besitz verschiedener Bibliotheken Europas (wie etwa Deutschland, England und Frankreich) gelangt.<sup>9</sup> Im Jahre 1883 konnte der bekannte Orientalist und Paläograph Joseph Karabacek (1845-1918) im Auftrage und mit Mitteln des Erzherzogs Rainer etwa zehntausend Papyri aus diesem und aus anderen ägyptischen Fundorten für Wien erwerben. Die berühmte Sammlung befindet sich heute in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Kaufmann interessierte sich für diese Texte und hat dann im Jahre 1887, zusammen mit D.H. Müller (1848-1912), daraus wichtige historische und literarische Texte veröffentlicht.<sup>10</sup>

### Die Genizah der Kairoer Esra-Synagoge

In der selben Zeit kamen aus Ägypten weitere Nachrichten über Handschriftenfunde ähnlicher Art. So berichtet der Weltreisende Jakob Sapir (1822-1885) über seinen Besuch im Jahre 1864 in Kairo, wie er auf dem Dachstock der in der Altstadt (Fustat) gelegenen Esra-Synagoge in der Genizah (religiös vorgeschriebener, separater Ablageort für ausgeschiedene hebräische Texte), hebräisch beschriebene Papierfetzen vorfindet. Darin stöbert er zwei Tage "ohne etwas nützliches oder wissenswertes zu finden".<sup>11</sup> Über diese Genizah hatte bereits ein Vorfahre Heinrich Heines, Simon van Geldern in den Jahren 1752/53 berichtet: "Bei wiederholten Ausflügen in die sogenannte Elias Synagoge scheint ihm, die Funde unserer Tage vorherahnend, die Absicht vorgeschwebt zu haben, durch Nachsuchung in dem Raume, der zur Bergung unbrauchbar gewordener hebräischer Bücher und Schriften dient, der sog. Genizah, wertvolle litterarische Trümmer hervorzuziehen."<sup>12</sup> Immer wieder hatten im 19. Jahrhundert Besucher dieser Stätte Schriftstücke nach Europa mitgenommen. Der grösste Teil des vorhandenen Materials dieser Genizah wurde dann schliesslich von Salomon Schechter (1848 – 1915) im Jahre 1897 nach Cambridge überführt.<sup>13</sup> Für dieses Genizah-Material hatte auch Kaufmann grosses Interesse bekundet und er hegte sogar die Ambition es zu

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. I. GOLDZIER, *Rainer főherczeg papyrus-gyűjteménye* [Die Papyrussammlung Erzherzog Rainers] = Budapesti Szemle 78(1894) 1-20.

<sup>10</sup> *Über die Hebraeischen Papyrus.* In: *Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*. Erster Jahrgang. Wien 1887. 38-44; *Der Brief eines ägyptischen Rabbi an den Gaon (Salomo) ben Jehuda.* In: *Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*. Fünfter Band. Wien 1892. 127-132. Siehe auch A. EPSTEINs Bemerkungen = *Revue des Études Juives* 25(1892) 272-276.

<sup>11</sup> Jakob Sapir, *Even Sappir*, I. Lyck 1866, 20-22, insbes. 21/b (auf hebräisch).

<sup>12</sup> D. KAUFMANN, *Aus Heinrich Heine's Ahnensaal*. Breslau 1896. 123.



erwerben. Er erkannte die einmalige Bedeutung dieser Textfunde für die jüdische Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte.<sup>14</sup> Seiner Meinung nach könnte durch eine Auswertung des Materials ein neues Bild der jüdischen Geschichte zum Vorschein kommen.

Es sollte für die Wissenschaft des Judentums mit diesen Genizah-Materialien, neben den bislang gepflegten Forschungsbereichen, eine neue, bedeutende Untersuchungsrichtung hinzukommen.

## Unerfüllte Wünsche

Kaufmanns visionärer Geist sei auch durch folgende Begebenheit belegt. In seinem vielzitierten hebräischen Aufsatz "Or-Haganuz" (Das verborgene Licht) regt er an, die Höhlen in der Umgebung Jerusalems systematisch nach Handschriften abzusuchen. Dabei gibt er praktisch zu bedenken, dass – im Gegensatz zu Ägypten, wo das trockene Klima bewahrend wirkt – in diesem Gebiet um Jerusalem die Feuchtigkeit in den Höhlen die Handschriften angreift, selbst wenn sie in Tonkrügen aufbewahrt sind.<sup>15</sup> Kaufmanns Anregung erscheint angesichts der ein halbes Jahrhundert später erfolgten Entdeckung der Handschriften von Qumran geradezu visionär.

Die Suche nach Handschriften aus Ägypten beschäftigte Kaufmann über viele Jahre hindurch. In einem Brief an A. Berliner im Jahre 1885 lässt er verlauten, dass er es gerne gesehen hätte, wenn seine Gattin "zu dem ägyptischen Geschäfte sich kräftiger gefühlt hätte".<sup>16</sup> Dies heisst im Klartext, dass seine Gattin Bereitschaft hätte zeigen sollen, ihm Geldmittel für die Handschriftenkäufe zur Verfügung zu stellen.

Von David Kaufmanns ausgedehnter wissenschaftlicher Korrespondenz ist, so umfangreich, vielseitig und inhaltsvoll sie ist, bislang nur ein kleiner Teil veröffentlicht worden. Ein Grossteil befindet sich zerstreut in amerikanischen, europäischen und israelischen Bibliotheken. Ihre Veröffentlichung bleibt ein Desideratum der

<sup>14</sup> S. SCHECHTER, *Ein Schatz von hebräischen Handschriften* = Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums 61.43(1897) 510-513. Vgl. A. M. HABERMAN, s.v. Genizah. In: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Vol. 7. Jerusalem 1972. coll. 404-407.

<sup>15</sup> Siehe F. ROSENTHAL, *Briefe Prof. Kaufmann's...*, (zit. Note 6), 307; SCHEIBER S., *A Kaufmann-geniza kutatása és jelentősége* [Die Erforschung der Geniza Kaufmanns und ihre Bedeutung]. In: Idem, *Folklor és tárgytörténet*. III. Budapest 1984. 501-502; A. SCHEIBER, *The Kaufmann-Genizah. Its Importance for the World of Scholarship*. In: ÉVA APOR (Editor), *Jubilee Volume of the Oriental Collection 1951-1976*. Budapest 1978. 176-179; D. KAUFMANN, *Die Vertretung der jüdischen Wissenschaft an den Universitäten*. In: Idem, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I. Frankfurt/M. 1908. 14-15.

<sup>15</sup> Hasiloach 2(1897). 388.

<sup>16</sup> F. ROSENTHAL, *Briefe Prof. Kaufmann's...*, (zit. in Note 6), 307.

Forschung. Aus dem nachfolgend ungekürzt wiedergegebenen Brief Kaufmanns an Karabacek erfahren wir u.a. seine Absicht, das ganze Genizah-Material aus Ägypten zu erwerben, und nicht ohne Humor beschreibt er, dass gewisse Umstände ihn an der Realisierung hinderten.

### **Die Sammlung in Budapest als Vermächtnis und Verpflichtung für die Forschung**

David Kaufmanns Andenken bleibt, neben seinen Veröffentlichungen, für immer mit seinen Handschriften und seiner Genizah-Sammlung verknüpft, welche sich im Besitze der Orientalischen Sammlung der Bibliothek der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Budapest befinden. Aus dieser von Kaufmann aufgebauten Genizah-Sammlung ist ein vorzügliches Forschungsinstrument geworden. Kaufmanns Wunsch, noch zu Lebzeiten dieses Material selbst zu verarbeiten und zu veröffentlichen, um so zur Forschung beizutragen, blieb ein unerfüllter Wunsch.<sup>17</sup> Es ist zu wünschen, dass andere mit den vorhandenen Genizah-Schätzen in Budapest das Werk im Sinne David Kaufmanns fortsetzen und seinem Andenken durch Realisierung seines grossen Wunsches das Denkmal setzen, welches dieser grosse Gelehrte verdient hat.

<sup>17</sup> M. WEISZ, *Katalog der hebräischen Handschriften und Bücher in der Bibliothek des Professors Dr. D. Kaufmann s.A.* Frankfurt/M. 1906. 183-184 [Genizah-Stücke].; *Microcard Catalogue of the Rare Hebrew Codices, Manuscripts and Ancient Prints in the Kaufmann Collection reproduced on microcards.* Introduced by a lecture of the late Prof. I. Goldziher. Editor R. Gergely. Budapest 1953. 34-35; L. LIGETI, *La Bibliothèque de l'Académie et les Études Orientales.* In: Éva APOR (Editor), *Jubilee Volume...*, (zit. Note 14), 15-16. Ignaz Goldziher war, abgesehen von Kaufmann selbst, einer der ersten gewesen, welcher in seinem Bericht über die Sammlung Kaufmann auf die Bedeutung der Genizah hinwies. Siehe *Microcard Catalogue...*, 17-18; vgl. auch A. SCHEIBER, *The Kaufmann-Genizah...*, (zit. Note 14), 176-188; SCHEIBER, S. A. *Kaufmann-geniza kutatása...*, (zit. Note 14), 501-530; sowie S. LÖWINGER – A. SCHEIBER – S. HAHN, *Report on the Hebrew MSS in Hungary with special regard to the Fragments of the Cairo Genizah.* In: *Genizah Publications in Memory of Prof. Dr. David Kaufmann.* I. Budapest 1949. V-XV. Umfassende Verarbeitung des Genizah-Materials findet sich nun im monumentalen Werk von S. D. GOITEIN, *A Mediterranean Society – The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza.* Vol. I-VI. Berkeley 1967-1993; Idem, *Early Letters and Documents from the Collection of the late David Kaufmann* = *Tarbiz* 20(1949), Jubilee Volume Presented to J. N. Epstein on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday. Jerusalem 1950. 191-204 (hebräisch). Die Genizah-Dokumente im engeren Sinn, welche bis zum Frühjahr 1961 ganz oder teilweise publiziert wurden, sind umfasst bei: Sh. SHAKED, *A Tentative Bibliography of Geniza Documents.* Prepared under the direction of D.H. Baneth and S.D. Goitein. Paris / The Hague 1964. (Études Juives 5.)

## Anhang

### Kaufmanns Brief vom 5. März 1897 an Prof. Karabacek im Wortlaut:<sup>18</sup>

Verehrter Herr Professor !

Ihre freundliche Zuschrift giebt mir Gelegenheit, einen Gegenstand Ihnen vorzutragen, der nur aus Rücksicht auf Ihre Zeit bisher von mir nicht berührt wurde.

Freund Müller<sup>19</sup> hat Ihnen sicherlich von den herrlichen Urkunden erzählt, die ich seit Jahren aus den ägyptischen Genizoth gesammelt habe.

Ich hätte längst alle Anstalten getroffen, auch die weiteren Fundstücke zu erwerben, als die Indolenz eines orientalischen Freundes und die Cholera mich an der Verwirklichung meines Lieblingsgedankens verhinderten.

Cambridge hat nemlich letzthin Kairo, wie der Exodus sagt, "ausleeren" lassen.<sup>20</sup> Herr Schechter<sup>21</sup> ist mit dem nöthigen Kleingeld an Ort und Stelle geschickt worden.

Meine Urkunden sind aber so werthvoll und zum Theil vollendet erhalten, dass eine Publication derselben durchaus wünschenswerth wäre. Ich habe Sie, verehrter Herr, durch Müller anfragen lassen, ob eine Reproduction eines Theiles derselben mit den hebräischen Stücken des erzherzoglichen Schatzes möglich wäre, und gestatte mir heute die Frage direct zu stellen. Eine Publication durch die Akademie hält Müller, da ich ein Ungar dem Wohnorte nach bin – de facto bin ich ein Oesterreicher – für ausgeschlossen. Ich hatte schon den Gedanken, die Stücke einfach Ihrer Sammlung zu übergeben, halte aber, wie ich Ihnen ehrlich bekenne, die Idee, der erzherzoglichen Sammlung Etwas zu schenken wollen, für so sehr Missdeutungen ausgesetzt, dass ich lieber davon Abstand genommen habe: an Verkauf denke ich überhaupt nicht.

<sup>18</sup> Der hier wiedergegebene Brief Kaufmanns an J. Karabacek befindet sich im brieflichen Nachlass Karabaceks in der Handschriftenabteilung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Sign. 555/40-2). Kaufmann stand mit Karabacek in Korrespondenz. Kaufmann hatte bereits 1887 einen Text aus der Papyrussammlung des Erzherzogs veröffentlicht, und im Nachlass Karabaceks gibt es einen Brief Kaufmanns aus dem Jahre 1894, in dem er für die Zusendung der Publikation "Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer – Führer durch die Ausstellung" dankt; vgl. G. MAUTHE, *Die Direktion Josef Karabacek an der k.k. Hofbibliothek in Wien (1899-1917)* = Biblos 48(1999) 89-114.

<sup>19</sup> David Heinrich Müller (1848-1912), Orientalist und Professor an der Universität Wien. Über ihn siehe S. WININGER, *Grosse Jüdische National-Biographie*. Cernăuți-Leipzig 1925-1936. Band IV. 464-465.

<sup>20</sup> Er bezieht sich auf die Stelle Exodus 12,36.

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. dazu oben Note 13.

HERMANN I. SCHMELZER

Ihr freundlicher Rath möge mir nun zu Hülfe kommen, um mir eine Möglichkeit zu eröffnen, damit im Laufe dieses Jahres wenigstens ein Theil des Materiales ans Licht trete. Die Berliner haben auch ein Heft hebraeischer Urkunden angekündigt.<sup>22</sup> Hat Merx sich vielleicht oeffentlich wieder vernehmen lassen ?<sup>23</sup>

In verehrungsvoller ergebenheit

Dr. Kaufmann

Bpest (20 Andrassy str.) 5. März 1897.

<sup>22</sup> Zu erschen in Jehuda BARCELONI, *Sepher Hashtarot*, bearbeitet von S.J. Halberstam. Berlin 1898.

<sup>23</sup> Adalbert Merx (1838-1909), Orientalist und Theologe, Professor in Tübingen, Giessen und Heidelberg; vgl. D. KAUFMANN, *Die Vertretung...*, (zit. Note 14), 14-38.

# DAVID KAUFMANN AND HIS COLLECTION

István Ormos  
(Budapest)

## I. The life of David Kaufmann<sup>1</sup>

David Kaufmann was born at Kojetein<sup>2</sup>, a little town in Moravia, on 7 June 1852. His father, Leopold Kaufmann, was occupied in agriculture, managing a farm as a leaseholder. He had to make strenuous efforts to support his family and to provide a good education for his two sons.<sup>3</sup> Family tradition has it that the father was a somewhat

<sup>1</sup> This sketch is based mainly on the biography by Ferdinand ROSENTHAL, KAUFMANN's brother-in-law, on that by Samuel KRAUSS, one of KAUFMANN's most outstanding disciples, and on that by Adolph FRANKL-GRÜN, Rabbi at Kremsier. They all knew the deceased well. Valuable pieces of information have been contributed by Dr. Béla BAKONYI, the oldest member of the KAUFMANN family in Budapest at present. His mother was Margit KÖNIG (1888-1981), the daughter of KAUFMANN's sister, Mrs. Lajos KÖNIG, née Róza KAUFMANN. Dr. [Ferdinand] ROSENTHAL, *David Kaufmann. Biographie*. In: *Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kaufmann*. Herausgegeben von Dr. M[arcus] BRANN und Dr. F[erdinand] ROSENTHAL. Breslau 1900. I-LVI. Dr. Samuel KRAUSS, *David Kaufmann. Eine Biographie*. Berlin 1901 (1902). Dr. Ad[olph] FRANKL-GRÜN, *Professor Dr. David Kaufmann, eine biographische Skizze*. In: *Idem, Geschichte der Juden in Kremsier mit Rücksicht auf die Nachbargemeinden*. Breslau-Frankfurt 1896-1901. III. 148-165. See now also Dr. BAKONYI's highly personal commemoration of a close relative: Dr. Béla BAKONYI, *Rendhagyó emlékezés David Kaufmann Dávidról* [Irregular commemorative address on David Kaufmann] = *Múlt és Jövő* 1999/4, 56-60. Cf. also Dr. Ármin KECSKEMÉTI, *Kaufmann Dávid* = *Magyar-Zsidó Szemle* 44 (1927) 251-260.

<sup>2</sup> Present-day Kojetín in the Czech Republic.

<sup>3</sup> The KAUFMANNs had two sons – David and Ignaz – as well as three daughters – Ernestine, Amalie and Róza (Rose). Ignaz followed the occupation of their father. Ernestine married Heinrich OPPENHEIM, his brother's friend, the son of David OPPENHEIM, Rabbi at Nagybecskerek (present-day Zrenjanin in Vojvodina/Serbia). Her granddaughter, Gertrud BUCHLER, is living now with her family and descendants in the United States (Cliffside Park, New Jersey/Palm Beach, Florida). Amalie married Ferdinand ROSENTHAL of Breslau, while

harsh, cold and unfriendly person, while the tender, sensitive and affectionate mother nourished the young boy's thirst for knowledge, which manifested itself rather early. Extremely tender and tight bonds existed between Kaufmann and his mother throughout all his life.<sup>4</sup> The bright boy attended the local Jewish elementary school between 1856 and 1860 and then the Piarist grammar school at Kremsier<sup>5</sup> as private pupil between 1860 and 1867. In addition to his regular subjects, he also did well at Jewish studies, which he pursued privately. At Easter 1867 the family had to decide on the boy's future and the choice fell on the study of theology, in conformity with the mother's wishes, although the father would have preferred agriculture to be the vocation of his elder son. So the boy entered the secondary school of the Jewish Theological Seminary at Breslau<sup>6</sup> in nearby Prussian Silesia and studied in that town for not less than ten years altogether. Meanwhile he spent a semester (1869) in the Lutheran secondary school at Teschen in Austrian Silesia, obtaining an Austrian *Abitur* there.<sup>7</sup> As an Austrian subject he was thus exempted from military service and had the right to do a one-year voluntary service instead. He obtained an *Abitur* at Breslau too, but that was not recognized in Austria in those days. It was in fact Kaufmann who, after his return to Breslau, drafted a petition in the name of all the Austrian students at Breslau and sent it to the Imperial-Royal War Ministry in Vienna requesting the recognition of the *Abitur* obtained at the Breslau Seminary and its validity for the exemption from military service replacing it with a one-year voluntary service. The request was granted.<sup>8</sup>

Subsequently he moved into the "upper course" of the Seminary, consisting of subjects on Jewish theology only. At the same time he also enrolled at Breslau University, attending lectures in the fields of the natural sciences, philosophy (Dilthey) and oriental studies. Meanwhile he attended lectures in Arabic studies at Leipzig University during the summer semester of 1874, subsequently obtaining a doctorate there. His thesis dealt with the system of religious philosophy of Saadia al-Fayyumi (10th c.).<sup>9</sup> The formal conclusion of his studies at Breslau took place on 28 January 1877. By 1876, however, he had already applied for the post of the rabbi of the Berlin community, although a practical occupation of this kind did not really suit his inclinations and skills. The "test sermons" he delivered during the great festivals in Berlin were an overwhelming success, although some expressions and certain remarks made in private conversations convinced the reform-minded members

Róza (Rose) married Lajos (Ludwig) KÖNIG of Budapest. The grandson of the latter, dr. Béla BAKONYI, lives with his family and descendants in Budapest now.

<sup>4</sup> She died in 1906 at the age of 84. See the note [Anon.,] *Kaufmann Dávid édes anyja* [David Kaufmann's mother] = *Magyar-Zsidó Szemle* 23 (1906) 380.

<sup>5</sup> Present-day Kroměříž in the Czech Republic.

<sup>6</sup> Present-day Wrocław in Poland.

<sup>7</sup> Present-day Český Těšín in the Czech Republic.

of the representative bodies of the community that Kaufmann was too conservative, leaning towards orthodoxy – it is well known that the Berlin community was the centre of ultra-reformism at this time. As a result of this, albeit most politely, his application was turned down.

Kaufmann also caused indignation by not praying in proper footwear on the Day of Atonement, disregarding the elements of good forms (*gegen alle gute Sitte*). It is not clear whether in contemporary German the word *Filzsocken*, which occurs in our source as Kaufmann's footwear, designated "socks" in the modern meaning of the word or rather some sort of felt slippers.<sup>10</sup> The leadership of the Berlin community, which consisted of assimilants making a great show of their adoption of German manners and customs, did not like Kaufmann's interpretation of Verse 7 of Psalm 85: "You will give us life again when we as a people rejoice together with you." (*Du wirst uns wieder beleben, wenn wir uns als Volk mit Dir freuen.*) (This German rendering of the verse, which differs somewhat from most modern translations, is completely acceptable on the basis of the Hebrew original.) Kaufmann was not ready to make any concessions in the field of religion either, so for instance he was not willing to abolish the sounding of the *shofar* nor to conclude marriages in the *sefira* days of mourning. Kaufmann dedicated his Berlin sermons to Leopold Zunz (David Kaufmann: *Sieben Festpredigten*. Berlin 1877). Zunz wrote the following dedicatory lines on a photograph of himself that he sent to Kaufmann: "Weltlicher und geistlicher Tyrannei dienen drei Hülfsheere: Schurkerei, Schwachköpfe, Esel; drei Bundesgenossen: Armuth, Reichthum, Unwissenheit; drei Fertigkeiten: Sophistik, Charlatanerie, Aberglauben".<sup>11</sup>

It was exactly at this period, however, that a rabbinical seminary was being organized in Budapest – after extremely long preparatory negotiations, this new institution was at last formally opened on 4 October 1877. It was organized on the model of the Breslau Seminary but differed from its German counterparts in so far as it was founded upon the initiative of the King and the state, and was under state control right from the beginning.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> KRAUSS 1901 (1902) 9-10.

<sup>9</sup> It was published as a chapter of the *Attributenlehre*. See below.

<sup>10</sup> KRAUSS 1901 (1902) 13<sup>1</sup>. Cf. *Socke: e. Fussbekleidung von weichem Stoffe mit flachen Sohlen, als Pantoffeln od. als Überschuhe getragen (z. B. Filzsocken, wollene Socken etc.); kurze Strümpfe, die nur bis an od. über die Knöchel reichen*. Joh. Christ. August HEYSE, *Handwörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. Magdeburg 1833-1849. II. 940-941.

<sup>11</sup> FRANKL-GRÜN 1896-1901. III. 156-157.

<sup>12</sup> GROSZMANN Zsigmond, *A magyar zsidók a XIX. század közepén (1849-1870)* [Hungarian Jews in the middle of the 19th century (1849-1870)]. Budapest 1917. 72-82, 123. KRAUSS 1901 (1902). 14.

In a broader context, the foundation of a seminary was one of the central issues in the controversy and battle between conservative and reform Judaism – called orthodoxy and neologism respectively in Hungary – that reached unparalleled acuteness in Hungary especially in the 1860s culminating in the congress of 1868-1869: the foundation of a state-controlled seminary, where traditional Jewish learning would be amalgamated with the achievements of modern scholarship, was one of the aims of the partisans of reform Judaism, while in turn it was vehemently opposed by the orthodoxy, who saw in it a device of assimilation, consequently a big threat to the survival of traditional Judaism.<sup>13</sup>

The organizers succeeded in inviting young David Kaufmann to Budapest, who had by then acquired a good reputation both in religious and scholarly circles owing to his publications and sermons. (Shortly before he received an offer of a professorship at the seminary at Cincinnati but turned it down because of the great distance.)<sup>14</sup> He accepted the invitation and was appointed professor of Jewish history, philosophy of religion and homiletics at the newly-founded institution. The director of the Seminary was the eminent Talmudist and rabbinical authority Moses Bloch, while the third professor to be appointed was Wilhelm Bacher.<sup>15</sup> One of Kaufmann's references was the grand old man of Judaic studies in those days, Leopold Zunz. In his work he had the opportunity to indulge in the passion of his youth, Greek, too: in the "lower course" of the Seminary, corresponding to secondary school, he taught Greek language and literature, as well as German.

In the school-year 1881-1882, for instance, he gave the following courses: 1. In the higher section of the theological course in the Seminary: Jewish History (The Talmudic school of Lucena. Isaac Alfasi, Josef ibn Migash and their pupils. The pupils of Isaac ibn Ghayyat. Instructions for a critical perusal of responsa and poems from this period. Two hours per week), Historical Exercises (one hour per week), Philosophy of Religion (Saadia's *Emunot we-Deot*. A comparison of both Hebrew translations with the original. Two hours per week), History of the

<sup>13</sup> See e.g. Walter PIETSCH, *Reform és ortodoxia. A magyar zsidóság belépése a modern világba.* [Reform and orthodoxy. The entry of Hungarian Jewry into the modern world.] [Magyar Zsidó Történelem.]. [Hungarian Jewish History]. Budapest 1999. 12, 65. Cf. also Béla BERNSTEIN, *A negyvennyolcas magyar szabadságharc és a zsidók.* [The Hungarian War of Independence of 1848 and the Jews]. [3rd edition]. Budapest 1998. 175-178.

<sup>14</sup> KRAUSS 1901 (1902). 14.

<sup>15</sup> Moshe CARMILLY-WEINBERGER, *One Hundred Years of the Seminary in Retrospect.* In: *The Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest 1877-1977. A centennial volume.* Edited by Moshe Carmilly-Weinberger. New York 1986. 12. Cf. also Aron MOSKOVITS, *Jewish Education in Hungary (1848-1948).* Philadelphia-New York 1964. 87-92. Kinga FROJIMOVICS – Géza KOMORÓCZY – Viktória PUSZTAI – Andrea STRBIK, *Jewish Budapest. Monuments, Rites, History.* Budapest 1999. 201-212.



Religious Philosophy of the Jews (*Geschichte der jüdischen Religionsphilosophie*) (up to Saadia al-Fayyumi. Selected chapters of the Talmud, a critical analysis of *Sefer Yezira*, of the *Alfabetmidrash* of R. Aqiba and of *Shiur Qoma*. One hour per week), Homiletics (The theory of Jewish sermon, homiletical exercises. One hour per week). 2. In the lower course of the *Gymnasium* (the *Gymnasium* had a lower and a higher course; Kaufmann did not teach in the latter): Second Year: Greek (Conclusion of morphology on the basis of the school-grammar of Curtius and Schenkl's *Exercises*. Three hours per week), German (together with the Third Year) (Goethe's *Iphigenie*, the public delivery of a lecture on a freely chosen subject every week, German exercises. Two hours per week); Fourth Year: German (Selected chapters of Lessing's *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, Exercises in the public delivery of works on freely chosen subjects, German essays. Two hours per week); Fifth Year: German (History of German literature after Kluge's *Introduction*, German essays and exercises. Two hours per week). His weekly load seems to have been no less than sixteen hours!<sup>16</sup> Without going into further details we may add that he changed the subjects of his German and Greek classes from year to year – it may be noted that in the following school-year 1882-1883 in his course "Jewish History" he spoke on the disciples of Isaac ibn Ghayyat and Isaac ibn Albalia, the poets of Yehuda Halevi's circle and gave an introduction into medieval Hebrew metrics and poetry. In the course "Philosophy of Religion" he spoke on Maimuni's teaching on the causes of ceremonial laws, *More Nebuchim* iii, 25sq., with special regard to the two Hebrew translations. In his course "History of the Religious Philosophy of the Jews" he lectured on the beginnings of the scholarly activities of the Jews under the influence of the Arabs, the first commentaries to *Sefer Yezira* and the achievements of the Karaites in the philosophy of religion before Saadia.<sup>17</sup> In the following school-year 1883-1884 in the course "Jewish History" he spoke on Abraham ibn Ezra's life and activities, the history of the Karaites in Spain, the Jews in Christian Spain, and gave instructions in the perusal of historical sources and in the historical treatment of medieval Jewish poetry. In his course "Philosophy of Religion" he spoke on Yehuda Halevi's *Kuzari* with special regard to the Arabic original and the commentaries by Yaqob ibn Hayyim Farissol and Yehuda Moscato. His course "History of the Religious Philosophy of the Jews" treated the following subjects: the influence of the Mu'tazila upon the Karaites and Rabbanites, Yosef al-Basir's works, selected chapters of the original of his *Muhtawi*, the beginnings of scholarly activities

<sup>16</sup> A budapesti Országos Rabbiképző-Intézet Értesítője az 1881-1882-iki tanévről. Budapest 1882. 2-8. Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest für das Schuljahr 1881-1882. Budapest 1882. 3-8.

<sup>17</sup> A budapesti Országos Rabbiképző-Intézet Értesítője az 1882-1883-iki tanévről. Budapest 1883. 4. Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest für das Schuljahr 1882-1883. Budapest 1883. 4-5.

among the Jews of the West, Sabbatai Donnolo, reading his *Hakmoni*, the beginnings of the scholarly activities of Saadia al-Fayyumi.<sup>18</sup> In the following school-year of 1884-1885 the course "Jewish History" dealt with the persecutions of the Almohads in Africa and Spain, the Jews in Egypt, the biographies of Maimon b. Yosef and Musa Maimuni, a reading of the sources, especially of selected portions of Maimuni's letters. In his course "History of the Religious Philosophy of the Jews" he treated the following subjects: the system of religious philosophy and ethics of Saadia al-Fayyumi, his *Yezirah*-commentary, analysis of the contents of his *Emunot we-Deot*, the history of religious philosophy of the Jews up to Gaon Haya.<sup>19</sup> In the school-year 1885-1886 he treated the following subjects in the course of his lectures on "Jewish History:" The Jews in Egypt, the biographies of Abraham Maimuni and Yosef ibn Aqnin, the polemic about *More*, the reading of selected chapters of the writings of Abraham Maimuni. In his course "Philosophy of Religion" he read with his students responsa of Gaon Haya relevant to the philosophy of religion, and gave a critical analysis of Abraham ibn Daud's *Emuna Rama* on the basis of manuscripts. In his course "History of Religious Philosophy of the Jews" he lectured on the religious philosophy of Gaon Haya and the tendencies of religious philosophy among Spanish Jews up to Menachem b. Saruk.<sup>20</sup> – It may be noted that Wilhelm Bacher had a similar load and taught such subjects as Goethe's ballads, *Hermann und Dorothea* by Goethe or *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* by Schiller, in addition to Introduction to the Holy Scripture, Exegesis, Jewish History, Midrash and Hebrew.

At his appointment the Minister of Religion and Public Education, Ágoston Trefort, made it a condition that in the course of four years Kaufmann acquire a good knowledge of Hungarian, which he could use as the language of instruction and for delivering lectures.<sup>21</sup> Kaufmann achieved this more quickly than anyone would have expected and following his settlement in Hungary he published his most important works in Hungarian too. The minister lauded him publicly for his competence in

<sup>18</sup> A budapesti Országos Rabbiképző-Intézet Értesítője az 1883-1884-iki tanévről. Budapest 1884. 5. Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest für das Schuljahr 1883-1884. Budapest 1884. 5-6.

<sup>19</sup> A budapesti Országos Rabbiképző-Intézet Értesítője az 1884-1885-iki tanévről. Budapest 1885. 4. Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest für das Schuljahr 1884-1885. Budapest 1884. 4.

<sup>20</sup> A budapesti Országos Rabbiképző-Intézet Értesítője az 1885-1886-iki tanévről. Budapest 1886. 5.

<sup>21</sup> KRAUSS 1901 (1902). 54 (Anhang. A.). At the beginning of his career, on the occasion of the inauguration of the synagogue of the Seminary he held a sermon in German on 6 October 1877. József BÁNÓCZI, *Az Országos Rabbiképző-Intézet első évtizedének története* = A budapesti Országos Rabbiképző-Intézet X. értesítője az 1886-87-iki tanévről. Budapest 1888. 21-29.

Hungarian. In addition, he was also the librarian of the Seminary for a period of twenty-two years.<sup>22</sup>

Although Kaufmann found Budapest somewhat strange at first, soon he got used to living there. In due course his private life became settled too, meaning that it was no longer only his profession and work that attached him to his new fatherland: on 10 April 1881 he married Irma Gomperz, the exquisitely educated and delicate scion of a considerably affluent family.<sup>23</sup> He had found the ideal wife, who could encourage him in his scholarly activities on the basis of the human and personal harmony existing between them. David Kaufmann enjoyed the company of his new relatives: he found himself surrounded by remarkable, highly-educated, gentle, pleasant people and there can be no doubt that the affluence and material independence assured by his new milieu also contributed considerably to his general sense of well-being. Kaufmann is known to have used the wealth at his disposal also to support the activities of several Jewish scholars both in Hungary and abroad, especially in Eastern Europe, mainly in Poland and Russia. It was precisely these scholars who coined for him the abbreviated name RaDaK in accordance with an age-old Jewish custom.<sup>24</sup> The young couple lived in Andrásy street, which was just becoming the principal, most elegant and grandiose street of the incredibly quickly developing capital of a prosperous country: the large Neo-Renaissance block of luxury flats at No.20 stood, and still stands, as an equal match next to the lavish palace of the Opera House, which is justly regarded as one of the major sights of a beautiful capital.<sup>25</sup> David

<sup>22</sup> Izidor GOLDBERGER, *Dr. Kaufmann Dávid élete és munkái*. [The life and works of Dr. David Kaufmann]. In: *Dr. Kaufmann Dávid emlékezete* [The memory of Dr. David Kaufmann]. Budapest 1900. 19. He was elected to this post annually at the first staff meeting of the Seminary at the beginning of the school-year in every September.

<sup>23</sup> Her father was Sigismund (Zsigmond) GOMPERZ (1817-1893), her mother Rosa (Róza) GOMPERZ (1830-1917). Sigismund GOMPERZ had in fact married his own niece, the daughter of his younger brother, Philipp (Fülöp). That is why the rather strange name form occurs in our sources: *Gomperz Roza, szül. Gomperz* [*Rosa Gomperz, née Gomperz*] / *Rosa Gomperz, geb. Gomperz*.

<sup>24</sup> KRAUSS 1901 (1902). 19-20.

<sup>25</sup> In 1882 KAUFMANN lived at 47 Király street. *Budapesti cím- és lakjegyzék* [Directory of addresses and homes in Budapest]. Second year. Budapest 1882. 464. This historicist – mainly Neo-Gothic – building was the famous Pekáry House, no doubt one of the most beautiful spots in the capital in those days. (It is still standing.) See *Budapest lexikon*. 2nd ed. Budapest 1993. I. 679. FROJIMOVICS – KOMORÓCZY – PUSZTAI – STRBIK 1999. 162-163. In the 1894 edition of the metropolitan list of addresses and homes (8th year) KAUFMANN's address is already listed as 20 Andrásy street. This block of luxury flats, known as the Kramer House, was built in 1880 according to the designs of Vilmos FREUND. Oral communication by József SISA. In 1882 the address of "Sigismund/Zsigmond Gomperz, merchant," was 23 Deák Ferenc street, while in 1894 it was 20 Andrásy street.

Kaufmann was contented with his life and situation both in the professional and personal fields, and thus he would turn down invitations to go abroad, although with the rising of his star he received ever growing numbers of tempting offers (to Mannheim, Berlin, Breslau, Munich and Vienna, among others).<sup>26</sup> Days and years passed by in hard work; the teacher and scholar was surrounded by an aura of appreciation, veneration and devoted love, and he also lived in perfect harmony with his wife. His happiness was not unclouded though: after a while the symptoms of diabetes manifested themselves, and his unflagging zeal, his fanatic drive for work were no doubt due, partly at least, to the awareness that fate had allotted him a short life. This disease, from which he suffered for approximately ten years, undermined his health, and little by little the robust body began to show signs of decay. This explains the sudden changes of mood so characteristic of his last ten years, the abrupt onsets of sadness, when for no apparent reason tears would suddenly fill his eyes.

As was his custom, he arrived at Karlsbad<sup>27</sup> in the company of his mother on 27 June 1899 in order to undergo medical treatment and to take a general rest after the strains and fatigues of the school-year – his wife was staying at nearby Marienbad at the same time because the thermal waters there were more suitable to her complaints.<sup>28</sup>

Judging from Kaufmann's letters to Abraham Berliner, Kaufmann's wife seems to have been of fragile health, to have visited spas alone regularly in order to cure her complaints. She also visited Kaufmann's family in Kojetein regularly while her husband was working in Budapest. During these enforced separations Kaufmann was always anxious about her health and well-being.<sup>29</sup>

On 29 June Kaufmann slipped in the bath breaking his clavicle, and this generally harmless though unpleasant accident – no doubt at least in part due to his diabetes – in his case led to complications, haemorrhagia and pneumonia, so that he died on 6 July – he was barely forty-seven years old. After the funeral service on 9 July his body was transferred to Budapest. He was buried on 11 July in the Jewish section of Kerepesi cemetery (Salgótarjáni street). The funeral began at three o'clock and lasted until around seven because eleven addresses were given, among them by Samuel Kohn (Budapest), Ferdinand Rosenthal (Breslau), Wilhelm Bacher (Budapest), Marcus Brann (Breslau), David Heinrich Müller (Vienna), Mór Klein (Nagybecskerek)<sup>30</sup>, Sándor [=Alexander] Büchler (Keszthely), [Baurat]

<sup>26</sup> GOLDBERGER 1900. KRAUSS 1901 (1902). 14.

<sup>27</sup> Present-day Karlovy Vary in the Czech Republic.

<sup>28</sup> Present-day Mariánské Lázně in the Czech Republic.

<sup>29</sup> F[erdinand] ROSENTHAL, *Briefe Prof. Kaufmann's an Berliner*. In: *Festschrift zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag A[braham] Berliner's*. Hrsg. v. A. Freimann – M. Hildesheimer. Frankfurt am Main 1903. 301-330.

<sup>30</sup> Present-day Zrenjanin in Vojvodina/Serbia.

Stiasny<sup>31</sup> (Vienna) and Ignaz Goldziher (Budapest).<sup>32</sup> Kaufmann's tomb is in the row of the Rabbinical Seminary.<sup>33</sup> On 16 October, at the beginning of the semester, a memorial service was held in the Rabbinical Seminary, at which Ludwig Blau commemorated the deceased.<sup>34</sup> All too soon his wife followed her beloved husband into the grave; she died on 19 June 1905.<sup>35</sup>

## II. The scholarly activities of David Kaufmann

The – incomplete – bibliography of Kaufmann's works consists of 546 items, the first of which is dated 1872.<sup>36</sup> His most important articles were republished in three volumes after his death.<sup>37</sup> He wrote about twelve great works published separately. His activities were most widely ramified, covering many areas not necessarily connected to each other. At the centre of his interests stood the philosophy of Jewish religion, and it was this subject to which he devoted his first magnum opus, in which he subjected to overall examination the views of a philosopher of religion who had lived in 11th-12th century Spain: *Die Theologie des Bachja Ibn Pakuda*. Vienna 1874. 102 pp. (reprinted in *Gesammelte Schriften II*. 1910. 1-98). In a work of minor dimensions he discussed the art of Judah Halevi, a poet and philosopher of religion of the same period: *Jehuda Halewi. Versuch einer Charakteristik*. Breslau 1877. 48 p. (reprinted in KAUFMANN 1908-1915. II. 99-151.) He was honoured to receive a letter from Empress Elisabeth, the wife

<sup>31</sup> In all probability Wilhelm STIASNY (Pozsony/Pressburg/Bratislava 1842 – Bad Ischl 1910), extremely productive, outstanding architect in Vienna, active member of the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde*. Co-founder and president of the *Wiener Bauhütte* for a long period. See *Neue Österreichische Biographie* on the Internet.

<sup>32</sup> [Anon.], *A zsidóság gyásza Kaufmann Dávid halála felett* [The mourning of Jewry for David Kaufmann] = *Magyar-Zsidó Szemle* 16 (1899) 302-304. See also Ignác ZIEGLER, *Kaufmann Dávid*. Ibid. 297-299. Henrik BLOCH, *Dr. Kaufmann Dávid élete és működése*. [The life and Activities of Dr. David Kaufmann]. Ibid. 299-302.

<sup>33</sup> Vid. FROJIMOVICS – KOMORÓCZY – PUSZTAI – STRBIK 1999. 441.

<sup>34</sup> Lajos BLAU, *Emlékbeszéd Kaufmann Dávid felett* [Commemorative address for David Kaufmann] = *Magyar-Zsidó Szemle* 16 (1899) 305-310.

<sup>35</sup> Her simple yet noble tomb stands near to KAUFMANN's. Sadly the upper part, consisting of a stone vase, disappeared at some time in the course of the past seventeen years. (It was still there when the author of these lines saw it in 1985.)

<sup>36</sup> Dr. M[arcus] BRANN, *Verzeichniss der Schriften und Abhandlungen David Kaufmann's*. In: *Gedenkbuch*. 1900. LVII-LXXXVII. This list is not reliable concerning items published in America. See also BRANN's additions in: David KAUFMANN, *Gesammelte Schriften I-III*. Herausgegeben von M[arcus] Brann. Frankfurt am Main 1908-1915. III. VII-IX.

<sup>37</sup> KAUFMANN 1908-1915.

of Emperor Franz Joseph I, asking for a copy of this work, because this prince of mediæval poets had also inspired her favourite poet, Heinrich Heine, and upon her inquiries she had been advised to turn to Kaufmann's work as the most reliable reference.<sup>38</sup> It was these early years that saw the completion of his seminal monograph in the field of the philosophy of the religion of Judaism and Islam, a chapter of which he submitted to the University of Leipzig as a Ph.D. thesis. As far as its title goes, this work, which has retained its importance up to the present, discusses the history of God's attributes in mediæval Jewish theology. However, since the theologians in question lived in the Arab-Islamic world and their teachings developed in continuous interaction with the religious philosophy of this world, within its conceptual system, as its integral part, this subject could only be treated within the framework of the philosophy of the religion of Islam. Thus despite its modest title, this work is no less than a complete history of the religious philosophy of the age in question: *Geschichte der Attributenlehre in der jüdischen Religions-Philosophie des Mittelalters von Saadia bis Maimuni*. Gotha 1877. 527 pp. One segment of the influence exerted by the religious philosophy of Islam upon Judaism is treated exhaustively in his monograph published three years later: *Die Spuren al-Batljäsi's in der jüdischen Religions-Philosophie nebst einer Ausgabe der hebräischen Übersetzungen seiner Bildlichen Kreise* = Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest für das Schuljahr 1879-80. Budapest 1880. 64+55 pp.<sup>39</sup> Soon he published his seminal work on the senses, in which his comprehensive erudition in philology, philosophy and the natural sciences<sup>40</sup> alike comes to light: *Die Sinne. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Physiologie und Psychologie im Mittelalter aus hebräischen und arabischen Quellen* = Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest für das Schuljahr 1883-84. Budapest 1884. V, 199 pp.<sup>41</sup> (It was also published

<sup>38</sup> Heinrich HEINE, Romanzero. Drittes Buch. Hebräische Melodien. Jehuda ben Halevy I-IV. Cf. GOLDBERGER 1900. 17. ROSENTHAL 1900. XXVII'.

<sup>39</sup> Also appeared in Hungarian: *Al-Batljäsi nyomai a zsidó vallás-philosophiában és jelképes köreinek héber fordításai* = A budapesti Országos Rabbiképző-Intézet értesítője az 1879-1880-iki tanévről. Budapest 1880. 59+55 pp.

<sup>40</sup> KRAUSS mentions that KAUFMANN made a lot (*eine Menge*) of notes to Joseph HYRTL's *Onomatologia anatomica. Geschichte und Kritik der anatomischen Sprache der Gegenwart*. Vienna 1880, which the famous anatomist had sent to him. A dedicated copy of this work is extant in the Kaufmann Collection, but there is no trace of KAUFMANN's familiar marginal notes in his characteristic violet ink and the book itself is in an excellent condition so one can assume that KAUFMANN may have possessed another copy of this work too. KRAUSS 1901 (1902). 29. It may have been sold by SCHLESINGER (see below) or destroyed together with KAUFMANN's letters and notes during World War II.

<sup>41</sup> It also appeared in Hungarian: *Az érzékek. Adalékok a középkor physiologiája- és psychológiájának történetéhez, héber és arab forrásokból* = A budapesti Országos Rabbiképző-Intézet értesítője az 1883-84-iki tanévről. Budapest 1884. V, 186 p.

separately with a Leipzig imprint.) This work was also highly appreciated by the eminent German scholar of medicine, Rudolf Virchow.<sup>42</sup> Towards the end of his tragically short life Kaufmann published a work in which he analyzed the system of Ibn Gabirol, the remarkable Neoplatonic philosopher and poet in 11th century Spain: *Studien über Salomo Ibn Gabirol* = Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest für das Schuljahr 1898/99. Budapest 1899. 123 pp.<sup>43</sup> It is also to him that we owe important works based on a profound and at the time unrivalled study of sources in the field of Jewish genealogy: *Samson Wertheimer, der Oberhoffactor und Landesrabbiner 1658-1724 und seine Kinder*. (Zur Geschichte jüdischer Familien I.) Vienna 1888. 114 pp.; *Urkundliches aus dem Leben Samson Wertheimers* = Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest für das Schuljahr 1890-91. Budapest 1891. 142 pp.;<sup>44</sup> *Die Familien Prags nach den Epitaphien des alten jüdischen Friedhofs in Prag*, zusammengestellt von Simon Hock. Aus dessen Nachlasse herausgegeben, mit Anmerkungen versehen und biographisch eingeleitet von Prof. Dr. David Kaufmann. Pressburg 1892. 402+36 pp.; *R. Jair Chajjim Bacharach (1638-1702) und seine Ahnen*. (Zur Geschichte jüdischer Familien II.) Trier 1894. 140 pp.; *Aus Heinrich Heine's Ahnensaal*. Breslau 1896. 312 p. He also wrote about the history of his wife's family – the work interrupted by his untimely death was given the finishing touches by the hand of his close friend Max Freudenthal: *Die Familie Gomperz*. (Zur Geschichte jüdischer Familien III.) Frankfurt am Main 1907. XVII, 437 pp. Kaufmann published the memoirs of a highly-educated Jewish widow living in Germany in the second half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century, which is remarkable both as an important source of cultural history and as a touching human document. This work has an additional point of interest in so far as it was written by a woman, quite an unusual phenomenon for its time: *Die Memoiren der Glückel von Hameln 1645-1719*. Frankfurt 1896. LXXII+400 pp. It was such a success that it was translated into German, English, French and Modern Yiddish.<sup>45</sup> The classification of the language of this work written in Hebrew characters and set in a Jewish environment is disputed in scholarly literature. It is only slightly different from the standard German of its time and some scholars term it "Modern Western Yiddish" while others deny the existence of such a language altogether applying the word

<sup>42</sup> GOLDBERGER 1900. 20.

<sup>43</sup> It also appeared in Hungarian: *Tanulmányok Salamon Ibn Gabirolról* = A budapesti Országos Rabbiképző-Intézet értesítője az 1898/9 tanévről. Budapest 1899. 113 pp.

<sup>44</sup> It also appeared in Hungarian: *Okmányok Wertheimer Sámson élettörténetéhez* = A budapesti Országos Rabbiképző-Intézet értesítője az 1890-91-iki tanévről. Budapest 1891. 139 p.

<sup>45</sup> German translations by Bertha Pappenheim (Vienna 1910) and Alfred Feilchenfeld (Berlin 1913), English translations by Marwin Lowenthal (1932) and Beth-Zion Abrahams (New York – London 1932), French translation by Léon Poliakov (Paris 1971) and modern Yiddish translation by Yosef Bernfeld (Buenos Aires 1967). The German and English translations appeared in numerous editions.

"Yiddish", a technical term only imported to Europe from the United States around 1910, to designate the "Jewish German" used only in Eastern Europe, and maintaining that the language of the work in question is in fact the colloquial German of the day, with a touch of Jewish colouring at the most.<sup>46</sup>

We are indebted to David Kaufmann for the publication of a number of important original documents which he found on his numerous and frequent visits to archives and libraries in various European countries, but it is well known that a considerable part of the incredible wealth of primary data contained in his publications was received from his well-organized network of "agents", who collected data for him from libraries, manuscript collections and archives all over Europe and in certain areas of the Middle East. This they did partly for friendship's sake, but if it seemed appropriate Kaufmann also knew how to find the right moment and method of material remuneration. It was likewise through his connections and his "agents"<sup>47</sup> that he managed to build up his exquisite collection of manuscripts and books with the material background of the family of his wife – the important documents published by him came quite often from his own collection. He possessed an exceptionally vast and profound knowledge of bibliographical data, a fact copiously attested to by important publications. His works dealing with the affairs of certain communities, with Jewish archaeology and local history, in which he used the numerous copies he made of tomb inscriptions, are of lasting value. It was perhaps Jewish history that occupied the centre of his interest, and his works in this field surpass considerably those of his contemporaries, thanks to his rich perusal of unknown primary sources. From among his works relating to Hungarian history, mention should be made of the editing and translation of an important source relating to the recapture of Buda from the Turks in 1686 – he published this work from a manuscript in his own possession:<sup>48</sup> *Die Erstürmung Ofens und ihre Vorgeschichte nach dem Berichte Isak Schulhofs (1650-1732) (Megillath Ofen)*. Trier 1895. 62 + 32 pp.<sup>49</sup> – and of the treatment of an interesting episode from the past of the small Moravian city of Ungarisch Brod<sup>50</sup> close

<sup>46</sup> Oral communication by Ádám NÁDASDY. See also Bettina SIMON, *Jiddische Sprachgeschichte. Versuch einer neuen Grundlegung*. Frankfurt am Main 1993. 7-65, 212-218.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. e.g., Eugen MITTWOCH, *Briefwechsel zwischen David Kaufmann und Paul-Georg von Möllendorf* = *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 76 (1932) 401 quoted in SCHMELZER's contribution to this volume on p. 119 above.

<sup>48</sup> Its present shelf-mark is MS Kaufmann A 349.

<sup>49</sup> This work appeared in Hungarian translation recently: SCHULHOF Izák, *Budai krónika*. [Buda chronicle]. Translated from Hebrew by László Jólesz. Budapest 1981. See also KAUFMANN Dávid, *Budavár visszavívásának egy szemtanúja és leírója*. [An eyewitness and chronicler of the recapture of Buda Castle] = *Az Izraelita Magyar Irodalmi Társaság Évkönyve* [Yearbook of the Israelite Hungarian Literary Society] 1895. 63-92.

<sup>50</sup> Present-day Uherský Brod in the Czech Republic.



to the Hungarian border in those times: *Die Verheerung von Ungarisch-Brod durch den Kuruzzenüberfall vom 14. Juli 1683* = *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 37 (1893) 270-282, 319-331.<sup>51</sup>

His researches and achievements in the field of the history of Jewish art, especially in the history of manuscript illustration, are of epoch-making significance: *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Handschriftenillustration*. In: David Heinrich MÜLLER – Julius VON SCHLOSSER, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo. Eine spanisch-jüdische Bilderhandschrift des Mittelalters*. Vienna 1898. 255-311 [Anhang] (reprinted in KAUFMANN 1908-1915. III. 173-228); *Les cycles d'images du type allemand dans l'illustration ancienne de la Haggada* = *Revue des Études Juives* 38 (1899) 74-102 (republished in German translation – perhaps original – as *Die Bilderzyklen im deutschen Typus der alten Haggada-Illustration*. In: KAUFMANN 1908-1915. III. 229-261). Traditional public opinion was that Jews always abhorred figural representation in any form because their religion forbade it.<sup>52</sup> Kaufmann was perhaps the first scholar of stature to draw attention to the erroneousousness of this view, proving it untenable by marshalling a large and comprehensive corpus of data. Thus it is understandable that he is also regarded as the founder of the scholarly discipline of Jewish art history:

Noch vor zehn Jahren wäre es absurd gewesen, von einer jüdischen Kunst zu sprechen. Diese Kunst entdeckt zu haben, ist Kaufmann's eigenstes Verdienst. Nicht nur mußte er beweisen, daß eine solche Kunst existire, er mußte auch beweisen, daß sie existiren könne, indem er die Meinung, als stehe das Bilderverbot der Kunstentfaltung im Judenthum im Wege, als irrig erwies, er es vielmehr als unwiderlegbare Thatsache hinstellte, daß die Kunst auf flachem Raume nie verboten war, insofern kein Götzendienst sich daran knüpfte.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> This work also appeared in the 1894 yearbook of the secondary school at Ungarisch Brod.

<sup>52</sup> See e.g., Julius VON SCHLOSSER, *Der Bilderschmuck der Haggadah*. In: David Heinrich MÜLLER – Julius VON SCHLOSSER, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo. Eine spanisch-jüdische Bilderhandschrift des Mittelalters*. Vienna 1898. 240-241. On the untenableness of this thesis for the Biblical and Hellenistic-Roman periods see Joseph GUTMANN, *The "Second Commandment" and the Image in Judaism* = *Hebrew Union College Annual* 32 (1961) 161-174. [= Idem, *Sacred Images: Studies in Jewish Art from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*. [Collected studies series, CS 303]. Northampton 1989. II. 161-174]. Idem, *Recent Literature on Jewish Art: A Critical Appraisal* = *Jewish Book Annual* 25 (5728/1967-1968) 167-169. See also Gabrielle SED-RAJNA's contribution to this volume on pp. 79-81 above.

<sup>53</sup> KRAUSS 1901 (1902). 45.

It was David Kaufmann who first used the term "Jewish art" in an article published in 1878.<sup>54</sup>

He also dealt with subjects relating to the history of medicine: *Isak Israelis Propädeutik für Ärzte* = Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums 11 (1884) 97-112 (reprinted in KAUFMANN 1908-1915. III. 262-275); *Die jüdischen Schüler des Antonius Musa Brasavola in Ferrara* = Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums 38 (1894) 127-132 (reprinted in KAUFMANN 1908-1915. III. 276-281).

### III. David Kaufmann's collection of manuscripts and books

David Kaufmann was a passionate collector of manuscripts and books, for which the necessary material background was provided by his wife and her family. Schmelzer draws our attention to an interesting letter by Kaufmann to Berliner from which it appears clearly that the necessary sums of money were put at his disposal by his wife in every single case, and not always to the extent he may have wished.<sup>55</sup> It can also be mentioned that the famous luxuriously illuminated manuscripts for which his collection is so famous were never part of it actually: they were in the possession of his mother-in-law, Mrs. Róza Gomperz, who donated them to the Academy herself together with the collection of her son-in-law.<sup>56</sup> In all probability, the price of these items may have been so high that not even the funds at the disposal of the wife were sufficient and so the passionate collector had to ask the help of his mother-in-law, who complied with his request but retained the ownership of these precious items, probably as a sort of assurance.

Upon his sudden death the collection passed to his widow, who commissioned Max (Miksa) Weisz (1872-1931), one of Kaufmann's favourite students and an intimate friend of the family,<sup>57</sup> to prepare a *catalogue raisonné* meeting scholarly demands.

<sup>54</sup> Joseph GUTMANN, *Jüdische Kunst*. In: *Begegnungen mit dem Judentum*. Ed. Bernhard Rübenach. Stuttgart-Berlin 1981. 167, 170. [= GUTMANN 1989. I. 167, 170.]

<sup>55</sup> See ROSENTHAL 1903. 307 and Hermann I. SCHMELZER's contribution to the present volume on p. 121 above. The relevant passage in KAUFMANN's letter of 30 March 1885 runs as follows: *Meine Frau ist eitel Pesach: nur hätte ich gewünscht, dass sie zu dem ägyptischen Geschäfte sich kräftiger gefühlt hätte*. The word *eitel* is used here in an old meaning 'pure; nothing but; sheer,' with *eitel Pesach* perhaps recalling the expression *eitel Freud und Wonne*.

<sup>56</sup> See p. 143 below.

<sup>57</sup> Dr. Béla BAKONYI tells the author of these lines that his Bar Mitzvah was celebrated in the former synagogue in Aréna street because Max WEISZ was rabbi there. His mother – KAUFMANN's niece – used to consult the friend of the family, Max WEISZ, on all matters concerning David KAUFMANN and religion in general.

The splendid catalogue was prepared and has rendered great service to the scholarly community ever since, but the widow did not live to see its publication: *Katalog der hebräischen Handschriften und Bücher in der Bibliothek des Professors Dr. David Kaufmann s[eligen] A[ndenkens]* beschrieben von Dr. Max Weisz. Frankfurt am Main 1906. 199+80 pp. The catalogue was written in German. However, it also appeared with a Hungarian title-page and foreword with the body of the catalogue in German. This edition bears an imprint indicating Budapest as the place of publication. Incidentally, both editions were printed in Hungary by Adolf Alkalay and Son, Pozsony:<sup>58</sup> *Néhaj Dr. Kaufmann Dávid tanár könyvtárának héber kéziratai és könyvei. Összeállítja és ismerteti Dr. Weisz Miksa. Budapest 1906.*<sup>59</sup>

Following the untimely death of Kaufmann's widow on 19 June 1905, the collection passed to her mother, Mrs. Róza Gomperz. "In accordance with the intentions of the deceased" she donated the priceless collection to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences "in perpetuity" in a donation deed dated 24 December 1905.<sup>60</sup> In its session of 29 January 1906 the Academy "commissioned the Presidency to inform Madame Róza Gomperz of the deep gratitude of the Academy". She was also awarded the golden cross of distinction (*arany érdemkereszt*) by Emperor Franz Joseph I for her generous deed.<sup>61</sup> Family tradition has it that the choice fell upon the Academy because they wanted to see the priceless collection in the most prestigious scholarly institution of the country – "in our foremost scholarly institute" as the words of the deed express it.

After all, it would have seemed plausible to donate the collection to the Rabbinical Seminary since Kaufmann had been working there and since the Seminary itself was one of the foremost institutions of its kind in the world in those times. According to information supplied by Dr. Béla Bakonyi it was his grandfather, Mr. Ludwig (Lajos) König, who played a key role in the donation process convincing Mrs. Róza Gomperz that the Academy was more prestigious than the Seminary. (König was married to Kaufmann's sister, Mrs. Róza Kaufmann.) Another tradition, related by Alexander Scheiber, has it that the choice was made upon Ignaz Goldziher's advice.<sup>62</sup> In any case, maybe it was this choice which saved the collection for future generations: soon after the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944 Adolf Eichmann paid a visit to the

<sup>58</sup> Pressburg in German; since 1920 Bratislava in Czechoslovakia and the Slovak Republic.

<sup>59</sup> On the catalogue see now Benjamin RICHLER's contribution to the present volume on pp. 17-26 above.

<sup>60</sup> The donation deed is preserved in the Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books of our Library. RAL No. 533. 1905. (Arrived 28 December 1905). See the note [Anon.,] *Kaufmann-könyvtár* [The Kaufmann library] = *Magyar-Zsidó Szemle* 23 (1906) 208.

<sup>61</sup> On this distinction see the entry *Arany érdemkereszt*. In: *Révai nagy lexikona*. Budapest 1911-1935. II. 5b.

<sup>62</sup> Alexander SCHEIBER, *The Kaufmann Haggadah*. Budapest 1957. 4.

Seminary and removed a few thousand books.<sup>63</sup> It is beyond doubt that he would have included this famous collection in his selection if it had been there.

It was the König family who preserved Kaufmann's vast correspondence in several chests in the attic of their house at 93 Szondi street. Until his death in 1938 Ludwig (Lajos) König used to classify the letters. When the family moved to a smaller flat in a modern apartment house the mother, Margit König, had built at 18 Vitéz street in the *Víziváros* (Watertown) quarter of Buda in 1938, they left the correspondence behind because there was no place for it in the new house. Around 1941 it was destroyed when civilian defence regulations were passed prohibiting the preservation of combustible material in the attics of houses for the duration of the war – this the concierge told Margit König after the end of the war in 1945, when she inquired about Kaufmann's correspondence. In any case, the invaluable letters and notes disappeared without a trace. There can be no doubt that they were destroyed.

According to contemporary press reports, a "very large number" of printed books in Kaufmann's possession was acquired by the "very smart" local antiquarian book-seller Schlesinger,<sup>64</sup> who sold them partly to the Seminary and partly to various private individuals so that a considerable number of them even reached the Vienna bookmarket. Allegedly by a misunderstanding, Schlesinger started selling off these items to individuals before the Seminary could acquire everything it wanted. Copies of Kaufmann's own works including numerous off-prints bearing marginal notes in his familiar handwriting were offered for sale in large numbers, partly in Budapest and partly in Berlin.<sup>65</sup>

It is often asserted that Kaufmann himself or his wife donated the collection to the Academy or that it was in accordance with his or their intentions that his mother-in-law offered it to this prestigious institution. The former statement is of course a mistake and, to my knowledge, no proof has ever been found to substantiate the latter – the passage in Mrs. Gomperz's donation deed is perhaps simply a pious rhetorical device. Maybe after the sudden death of her husband Kaufmann's wife was already considering the eventual future of the collection, but it has to be assumed that during his lifetime Kaufmann himself was simply not occupied with this question: after all, he belonged to the peculiar species of passionate collectors and although he did have

<sup>63</sup> FROJIMOVICS – KOMORÓCZY – PUSZTAI – STRBIK 1999. 207.

<sup>64</sup> The SCHLESINGER publishing house and book-store was located at 1 Király street. The company moved to Tel-Aviv in the late 1930s, where it has been active ever since. See FROJIMOVICS – KOMORÓCZY – PUSZTAI – STRBIK 1999. 178-179. The firm seems to have specialized in Hebrew and Jewish publications only because it does not appear in a general account of the Budapest antiquarian book-market in those days. See Ödön STEMMER, *Egy antikvárius visszaemlékezései* [The recollections of an antiquarian bookseller]. Budapest 1985. 16-18.

<sup>65</sup> See the note [Anon.:] *Gomperz Róza* = Magyar-Zsidó Szemle 23 (1906) 208.

health problems, he was only forty-seven when he died quite unexpectedly – we know that he was full of plans when he arrived at Karlsbad two days before the fatal accident.

The Kaufmann Collection consists of 594 manuscript items and 1,092 printed books.<sup>66</sup> In view of its volume the Kaufmann Collection is one of the fifteen largest collections in the world although it cannot compete with collections like those in Oxford (over three thousand Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts) or Saint Petersburg (over three thousand manuscripts and several thousand choice Genizah fragments).<sup>67</sup> It is very rich in unique and rare items and so, considering its quality, it is reckoned among the foremost collections of its kind in the world.<sup>68</sup> The manuscript collection contains Biblical texts with commentaries, linguistic and massoretic texts, halakhic and aggadic pieces, works on Talmudic methodology, kabbalistic writings, works in the fields of theology, philosophy and religious polemics, history, homiletics and poetry, in addition to prayerbooks, works on the local history of Italian towns and communities, samples of letters, and works on mathematics and medicine. The collection is particularly rich in responsa of Italian rabbis. These are important not only from the point of view of religious law but are also first class historical sources on everyday life, customs and habits, and are described in detail in the otherwise succinct Weisz catalogue (p. 31-79). A considerable part of the manuscripts comes from Italy – in this context it may be mentioned that in 1895 Kaufmann succeeded in acquiring the complete collection of manuscripts and books of the eminent Mantuan rabbi Marco Mortara (1815-1894). The precious manuscripts with Yemenite piyyuts were acquired for him in Jerusalem by a certain M. Adelman, from Jews immigrating from Yemen – Adelman acquired manuscripts and rare books for Kaufmann in other parts of the Middle East too. Kaufmann also bought a number of items from Rafael N. Rabinowitz in Munich.<sup>69</sup>

The most important manuscript in the collection is no doubt the *Mishna* manuscript, shelf-mark MS Kaufmann A 50, which is sometimes referred to as the *Codex Kaufmann* (fig. 1). There are three complete manuscripts extant of the *Mishna* and ours is regarded as the oldest and best of them. It does not have a colophon, so views differ as to its age and origin. Ignaz Goldziher considered it to be of South Arabian origin while Samuel Krauss thought it had been written in Italy. Goldziher does not mention on what

<sup>66</sup> There is a number of printed books and journals of minor importance which Max (Miksa) WEISZ did not regard worthy of cataloguing. WEISZ 1906. 186-187 [Weitere Bestandteile der Bibliothek].

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Benjamin RICHLER's contribution to the present volume on pp. 17-19 above.

<sup>68</sup> See e.g. Joseph GUTMANN, *Forming the Great Collections*. In: *A Sign and a Witness. 2,000 Years of Hebrew Books and Illuminated Manuscripts*. Ed. Leonard Singer Gold. New York – Oxford 1988. 75. Binyamin RICHLER, *Hebrew manuscripts: A Treasured Legacy*. Cleveland – Jerusalem 1990. 67, 78. Idem: *Guide to Hebrew Manuscript Collections*. Jerusalem 1994. 27-28, 89.

<sup>69</sup> Rafael N. RABINOWITZ, München, Königinstrasse Nr. 43.

basis he made this statement. As for Krauss, he was just in the process of making a thorough investigation of the manuscript when the collection was presented to the Academy and the new owners asked him to return it without delay. Thus he was not able to carry out his plan, having been compelled to confine himself to the orders *Nashim* and *Neziqin* only. His assumption, which he seems to have based on an orthographic peculiarity occurring only in a few places, the use of an alef prostheticum before the sound/letter [s], a habit mostly characteristic of Italians, is now shared by the majority of scholars, although on the basis of additional considerations, while the view has also been advanced that the manuscript probably comes from Palestine.<sup>71</sup> It was written in the tenth or eleventh century. For more details we turn now to one of our visitors:

Script and form of letters closely resemble certain MSS of the Bible of eastern origin, written in the tenth or eleventh century. The MS contains comments, mostly emendations of the text, contributed by several hands. The emendations of one particular hand are constant and form the majority. The same hand also vocalized the codex. This vocalization was not inserted by the original scribe but was done probably some centuries later, when it was transferred from a vocalized copy which offered a text differing much from the Kaufmann codex. The punctator inserted these variations into the Kaufmann codex. The pointing and the emendations from the punctator display a second MS belonging to another recension. The peculiarities of the Kaufmann MS are more numerous than in any other, including most of the Geniza fragments. It has kept older forms of the Palestinian type of text and it often reflects the spoken language of second century Palestine. The Kaufmann codex is undoubtedly the oldest complete Mishna text and contains

<sup>70</sup> The other two are MS Parma, De Rossi 138 (Parma, Bibliotheca Palatina no. 3173) and the MS Cambridge, Add. 470 (II) (Cambridge, University Library). The MS Parma was written around 1073 while the MS Cambridge comes from the 14th or 15th century. Michael KRUPP, *Manuscripts of the Mishna. The Three Complete Mishna Manuscripts*. In: *The Literature of the Sages I*. Editor: Shmuel Safrai. Assen/Maastricht – Philadelphia 1987. 253-254. See also Benjamin RICHLER's contribution to the present volume on p. 17 above.

<sup>71</sup> GOLDZIHER Ignác, *Kaufmann Dávid könyvtára* [The Library of David Kaufmann]. (Olvasta Goldziher Ignác r. t. az április 23-iki ülésén. [Read by ordinary member Ignác Goldziher in the session of 23 April.] = Akadémiai Értesítő [Bulletin of the Academy] 18 (1906) 309. In: *Microcard Catalogue of the Rare Hebrew Codices, Manuscripts and Ancient Prints in the Kaufmann Collection Reproduced on Microcards*. Introduced by a lecture of the late Prof. Ignác Goldziher. (Publications of the Oriental Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, IV.) Microcard catalogue of the Kaufmann Collection. Editor R. Gergely. Budapest 1959. 15. Samuel KRAUSS, *Die Kaufmann'sche Mischna-Handschrift* = *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 51 (1907) 460. KRAUSS 1907. 65. KRUPP 1987. 253-254.

the best readings, even though it does not seem as faithful as the Cambridge codex in preserving the Palestinian recension. Hence the Kaufmann codex must now be regarded as the basic text of all scientific editions.<sup>72</sup>

Kaufmann acquired the manuscript in 1896 after all sorts of difficulties, and he gave expression to his great joy in his own "Psalm of David" which he wrote in his well-known violet ink on the flyleaf in the front part of the manuscript. (*David* is of course an allusion to himself here.)<sup>73</sup>

A special group is formed by some illuminated Hebrew manuscripts – these come mainly from the collection of the Trieste brothers in Padova – which are universally reckoned among the most important works of their kind in existence anywhere. Originally they did not belong to Kaufmann's collection but were owned by his mother-in-law, Mrs. Róza Gomperz. This may have been due to financial reasons: perhaps they had to be acquired at such a high price that the old lady gave her consent on this condition only. In the donation deed Mrs. Gomperz made special mention of these items, which she herself donated to the Academy:

To this foundation I am attaching on my part 25 *richly illuminated Hebrew* parchment manuscripts of eminent value in the opinion of specialists on account of the Italian miniatures and colour illustrations included in them.<sup>74</sup>

First of all one could mention here the in-folio manuscript of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* in four volumes (shelf-mark MS Kaufmann A 77), which is considered as one of the absolute masterpieces of mediaeval Hebrew art on account of its decorations and splendid illustrations.<sup>75</sup> The fact that a manuscript containing a work on religious law was produced with so much attention, care and considerable financial sacrifice,

<sup>72</sup> KRUPP 1987. 253. Cf. also KRAUSS 1907. 54-66, 142-163, 323-333, 445-461.

<sup>73</sup> It is quoted in WEISZ 1906. 14. – It may be noted that while KAUFMANN's handwriting in Roman script cannot be regarded as aesthetic in any way and creates the impression of an unbalanced mind, his handwriting becomes simply beautiful and a reflection of harmony itself when he is using square Hebrew script. There is a striking contrast between the two, which would surely make a most interesting subject for study by a graphologist.

<sup>74</sup> Original in Hungarian. Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books, RAL No. 533. 1905. Cf. p. 139 above.

<sup>75</sup> Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *The Illuminated Pages of the Kaufmann Mishneh Torah*. In: *Codex Maimuni*. Moses Maimonides' Code of Law. The Illuminated Pages of the Kaufmann Mishneh Torah. [Ed. by Alexander Scheiber]. Budapest – Frankfurt 1984. 37. See also Bezalel NARKISS – Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *Index of Jewish Art*. Iconographical Index of Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts. Volume IV. Illuminated Manuscripts of the Kaufmann Collection. Budapest-Jerusalem – Paris 1988. First Kaufmann Mishneh Torah. Card Nos. 1-45.

can only be explained by the extremely high prestige in which the work was held within the community.<sup>76</sup> The manuscript was written in North-Eastern France and was completed in 1296.<sup>77</sup> Readers who are interested are referred to the in-folio facsimile editions in Hungarian and English containing the most important illuminations of the manuscript – alas in rather poor quality – in addition to important essays by Alexander Scheiber and Gabrielle Sed-Rajna.<sup>78</sup> The Hungarian and English versions are not identical: the English edition has some brief additional passages by Joshua Blau, Shlomo Pines and Isadore Twersky. Both editions were prepared under the artistic supervision of Tibor Szántó, who cut off part of the margins of the title pages of the books containing full-page illustrations, thus mutilating the illustrations in the margins in some places. This does not happen anywhere in the original manuscript.

From among its splendid illustrations we pick one out here on account of an interesting recent discovery. At the bottom of the frontispiece of Book Twelve "The Book of Donations and Acquisitions" we see Moses delivering the Tablets of the Law to the people of Israel (fig. 1 on p. 102).

Since the book contains the laws concerning donations and acquisitions, the artist has illustrated the frontispiece with the offering of the true gift, the revelation of the Law. The scene refers to a legend concerning the Biblical text: God uprooted Mount Sinai and placed it upside down, like an inverted basket, over the Israelites, in order to force them to accept the Law with its onerous obligations. The illustration shows Moses displaying the tablets of the Law to the Israelites, whose heads appear inside an opening in the mountain.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>76</sup> David KAUFMANN, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Handschriftenillustration*. In: MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER 1898. 281, 292. MUNKÁCSI Ernő, *Miniatűrművészet Itália könyvtáraiban. Héber kódexek* [The Art of Miniatures in the Libraries of Italy. Hebrew Codices]. Budapest [c. 1938]. 16-17.

<sup>77</sup> SED-RAJNA 1984. 37. NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1988. First Kaufmann Mishneh Torah. Card No. 2.

<sup>78</sup> *A Májmu'ni kódex* [Móse Májmu'ni törvénykódexe]. A budapesti "Misné Tóra" legszebb lapjai. [Szerk. Scheiber Sándor]. Budapest 1980. *Codex Maimuni*. Moses Maimonides' Code of Law. The Illuminated Pages of the Kaufmann Mishneh Torah. [Ed. by Alexander Scheiber]. Budapest – Frankfurt 1984.

<sup>79</sup> SED-RAJNA 1984. 133. Cf. *ibid.* 31, 38<sup>1</sup>. This legend occurs also in the Quran. Joseph GUTMANN, *The Haggadic Motif in Jewish Iconography* = *Eretz-Israel* 6 (1960) 22\*. An illustration depicting this scene can also be found in the so-called Regensburg Pentateuch (Israel Museum, Jerusalem, MS 180/52). Robert SUCKALE, *Über den Anteil christlicher Maler an der Ausmalung hebräischer Handschriften der Gotik in Bayern*. In: *Geschichte und Kultur der Juden in Bayern*. [Band 1.] Aufsätze. Ed. by Manfred Tremel and Josef Kirmeier. [Veröffentlichungen zur Bayerischen Geschichte und Kultur, Nr. 17/88. Ed. by Claus Grimm.] München etc. 1988. 130.



It was around 1984 that Evelyn M. Cohen discovered that beneath the present illustration there is another one showing "a nimbed, seemingly half-length figure. [...] The form on the right is somewhat higher than Moses, and the two figures are jointly holding the Tablets".<sup>80</sup> The scene depicting Moses receiving the Tablets from the Lord can only have been executed by a Christian artist who was not aware that the representation of God was forbidden in Judaism. He seems to have received merely general instructions concerning the illumination program, which he then carried out as he was wont to do. When the blunder was discovered the owner had the original illustration painted over with another and so the present one was born. Only God's hand was left intact because it was a familiar way of representing God's presence.<sup>81</sup>

Similarly, only a hand stretching out of a cloud is referring to God in a Christian manuscript preserved in Leiden and executed around 1000, where the artist-poet gives thanks to God for the completion of his work (*poeta grās agit dō p expleto opere suo*).<sup>82</sup> The Revelation at Sinai was depicted similarly by the artist of the Bird's Head Haggadah (fol. 23r) too.<sup>83</sup> The same method of representation occurs in the Dresden Mahzor (c.1290; Sächsische Landesbibliothek; f.202v), while in the Bible of the Ambrosiana in Milan (1236-1238. B 30 f.182v) the Lord appears to

<sup>80</sup> Evelyn M. COHEN, *The Artist of the Kaufmann Mishneh Torah*. In: *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies*. Jerusalem, August 4 – 12, 1985. Division D. Volume II: Art, Folklore, Theatre, Music. Jerusalem 1986. 25-30, esp. 28. See also her contribution *The Kaufmann Mishneh Torah Illuminations* on pp. 97-104 above.

<sup>81</sup> Evelyn COHEN, *The Decoration of Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts*. In: *A Sign and a Witness*. 1988. 49-50. *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* 1968-1976. II. 211-214. Cf. Louis RÉAU, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*. Paris 1955-1959. II. I. 7 (*La Main divine*). On this motif in Jewish art see Mendel METZGER, *La haggada enluminée. I. Étude iconographique et stylistique des manuscrits enluminés et décorés de la haggada du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*. [Études sur le judaïsme médiéval. II. I.a haggada enluminée I.] Leiden 1973. 283<sup>2</sup>, 286. On the motif of Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law see METZGER 1973. 301-310. Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *Die hebräische Bibel in Bilderhandschriften des Mittelalters*. Übers. von Peter Hahlbrock. Frankfurt am Main – Berlin 1987. 95-96. Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *Les synagogues antiques. Architecture, peintures murales, mosaïques du III<sup>e</sup> au X<sup>e</sup> siècle*. In: Gabrielle SED-RAJNA – Ziva AMISHAI-MAISELS – Dominique JARRASSÉ – Rudolf KLEIN – Ronny REICH, *L'Art juif*. Paris 1995. Fig. 70. Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *Les peintures bibliques de la synagogue de Doura-Europos*. Ibid. 567. In a Mahzor executed in 1450 (Parma, De Rossi 2895, p. 271), God's hand is seen stretching out of a cloud in heaven and delivering the Tablets to Moses. MUNKÁCSI c. 1938. Plate XXIV, ill. No. 71.

<sup>82</sup> Milo van SINT-AMAND, *Carmen de sobrietate*. Sint Omaars, ca. 1000. Hs. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 190, fol. 26v.

<sup>83</sup> METZGER 1973. 303, Pl. LXVIII [fig. 388].

Moses in the shape of an angel (?) in a cloud above Mount Sinai.<sup>84</sup> Of the two earliest Christian representations of this scene only that in the Grandval Bible (9th century) has God's hand reaching out of a cloud alluding to God's presence, while the Ashburnham Pentateuch (7th century) is already depicting God's face, with this anthropomorphic manner of representation later becoming characteristic of Christian art. In some cases we can see Christ in the Lord's figure.<sup>85</sup> The representation of God's presence by a hand can be regarded as exceptional in Jewish art.<sup>86</sup> God's presence is represented by a hand in the burning bush in the earliest version of this scene in the synagogue of Dura Europos (244-245).<sup>87</sup> The depiction of Ezekiel's vision (Ez 37) is remarkable in the Dura Europos synagogue, where in accordance with the Hebrew text we see God's hand reaching out of heaven: "The hand of the Lord was upon me, and carried me out..." (Ez 37:1a).<sup>88</sup> It may be noted that there is an exceptionally fine representation of Ezechiel's vision on a pulpit in the cathedral of Zwiefalten, in the vicinity of the upper course of the Danube in Germany.<sup>89</sup> In the Kaufmann Collection there is another representation of this scene which is strictly in keeping with the traditional method of avoidance of the representation of God's presence. In the Ulm Mahzor (MS Kaufmann A 383, f.177r)<sup>90</sup> the scene showing Moses receiving the *Torah* is depicted as follows: "Moses is kneeling on the slope of Mount Sinai, holding two Tables inscribed Torah. He is looking towards the arched dome of heaven, with rays above it, a star within it and clouds below it".<sup>91</sup> It may be noted that in his brief note on this manuscript Kaufmann himself explicitly mentions God's hands, out of which Moses is receiving the Tablets, although in fact no hand can be detected in this illustration.<sup>92</sup> In a Mahzor executed in 1450 and preserved in Parma God's hand is seen stretching out of a cloud in heaven and delivering the Tablets to Moses.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Ruth MELLINKOFF, *Antisemitic Hate Signs in Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts from Medieval Germany*. Jerusalem 1999. 111 [Fig. 40], 116 [Fig. 47].

<sup>85</sup> METZGER 1973. 306-307.

<sup>86</sup> METZGER 1973. 307.

<sup>87</sup> METZGER 1973. 286. SCHEIBER 1957. 17. Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *L'Art juif. Orient et Occident*. Paris 1975. 72.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid. 76-77.

<sup>89</sup> See Ursula KOSLOWSKY, *Münster Zwiefalten*. [PEDA-Kunstführer Nr. 199.1/91]. Passau 1990. 33-35.

<sup>90</sup> This manuscript is complemented by MS A 371. See Benjamin RICHLER's contribution to this volume on p. 24 above.

<sup>91</sup> NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1988. Card No. 20 [*ad fol.* 177].

<sup>92</sup> KAUFMANN 1898. 271 [= WEISZ 1906. 123-124].

<sup>93</sup> MUNKÁCSI c. 1938. Plate XXIV, ill. No. 71 [Parma, De Rossi 2895, p. 271].

There is another characteristic feature in this illumination suggesting that the artist was Christian. Originally he portrayed Moses with two horns, which a later hand attempted to obliterate from the manuscript: the traces of scraping are still visible on the parchment, while one of the horns has been transformed into a tuft of Moses' hair. Moses' representation with horns, which is based Jerome's Latin translation of the relevant passages (Ex 34:29, 35) in the Vulgate, was characteristic of mediaeval Christian art in Western Europe.<sup>94</sup> Contrary to a widely accepted view, this translation is not necessarily based on a misunderstanding of the text: the passages in question are Ex 34:29, 35, where in the Hebrew original the verb *qāran* occurs. Only here has this denominative verb (from *qeren* "horn"; in a metaphorical sense also: "something horn-like," e.g. "rays") the singular meaning "shone, was radiant," which traditional interpretation – e.g., the influential Jewish exegete Rashi, who lived in France in the 11th century – deduces from the context. The Vulgate based its interpretation on the basic meaning of the verb: "to be horned." This rendering can also be found in Aquila's Greek translation.<sup>95</sup> The Septuagint renders the expression in question with *doxazo* = "magnify, extol"; cf. *doxa* = "glory, splendour, magnificence."<sup>96</sup> Thus the rendering of the Septuagint should be translated something like this: "Moses did not know that the sight of the skin of his face was magnificent/in splendour." Since the reference to horns does not occur in this place in the Septuagint, Moses is not portrayed with horns in Eastern Christian art. While in our modern times horns usually have negative connotations, in the ancient world they were one of the most common attributes of the gods, which symbolized honour, divinity, strength, kingship and honour. It has also been argued that Moses in fact wore a "sacred mask decorated with horns" during his conversation with God, a phenomenon which is not without parallels in the ancient world. On the other hand, while the original meaning of the

<sup>94</sup> COHEN 1986. 28-29. Cf. Ruth MELLINKOFF, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought*. (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1970. Reprint:) Eugene 1998. *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*. Hrsg. v. Engelbert Kirschbaum. Rome-Freiburg-Basle-Vienna 1968-1976. III. 286. See e.g. the Spanish Haggadah in the British Library (Or. 1404; fol. 14v). MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 105, Tafel IV<sup>2</sup>. MELLINKOFF 1998. 1-9, 13-21, 76-80 and *passim*.

<sup>95</sup> Wilhelm GESENIUS, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*. Neudruck der 17. Aufl. Berlin 1959. 729. Eduard KÖNIG, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. 2. u. 3. Aufl. Leipzig 1922. 420b. *Das zweite Buch Mose. Exodus*. Übersetzt und erklärt von Martin Noth. 2. Auflage. [Das Alte Testament Deutsch. Neues Göttinger Bibelwerk. Teilband 5.] Göttingen 1961. 214 [34:29-35], 220 [ad 34:29-35]. Ludwig KOEHLER – Walter BAUMGARTNER, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*. Dritte Auflage. Leiden 1967-1995. 1067b.

<sup>96</sup> Henry George LIDDELL – Robert SCOTT, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Ninth ed. With a Supplement 1968. Oxford 1985. 444b [*doxazo* II; *doxa* IV].

passage may really have been "horned," Ruth Mellinkoff points out that Jerome in fact understood his own rendering *cornuta* metaphorically as *glorificata erat*, as he himself explained in his Commentary on Ezekiel, i.e. he did not believe that Moses descended from Mount Sinai with solid horns on his head. Mellinkoff has also pointed out that strangely enough it was in England in the 11th century that the representation of Moses with horns first appeared. Of course, the very positive connotation and frequent occurrence of horns in Norse archeology, art, folklore and mythology is well known, so their appearance on the face or forehead of Moses was nothing new or unusual to readers in Northern Europe.<sup>97</sup>

In this context it may be noted that Kaufmann already touched upon the question of an eventual participation of Christian artists in the production of Jewish manuscripts and he basically denied this possibility.<sup>98</sup> Narkiss shares his view: "Undoubtedly most of the illuminators of Hebrew manuscripts were Jewish".<sup>99</sup> In connection with MS British Library Or. 2884 Munkácsi remarked that it is impossible to assume that the artist of the famous scene of the interior of a synagogue (see below) was not a Jew.<sup>100</sup> There can be found, however, several signs indicating that this precisely did happen in the illuminated manuscripts of the Kaufmann Collection. In addition to the examples quoted above we can adduce one scene in the Kaufmann Haggadah, where a nimbed young man emerges from the burning bush. Müller and von Schlosser had already recognized this as the representation of God in Christ's figure (fol. 59v; fig. 2).<sup>101</sup> Scheiber considered this view a mistake: in his view we are seeing God's angel here.<sup>102</sup> Although the Bible talks of God's angel appearing to Moses at the given place (Ex 3:2), two verses later it is God who addresses him out of the burning bush. It is a well-known fact that the Bible often does not differentiate

<sup>97</sup> For a balanced view of the present state of our knowledge about the possible collaboration between Christian and Jewish artists in France, with special reference to our manuscript, see Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *Les livres: La communauté racontée*. In: Gabrielle SED-RAJNA – Ziva AMISHAI-MAISELS – Dominique JARRASSÉ – Rudolf KLEIN – Ronny REICH, *L'Art juif*. Paris 1995. 227-229. Cf. also Cecil ROTH, *The John Rylands Haggadah* = Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. 43:1(1960) 146-152.

<sup>98</sup> KAUFMANN 1898. 295-311. Idem.: *Bilderzyklen*. In: Idem. 1908-1915. III. 260-261. Cf. VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderschmuck* 1898. 229-230, 232.

<sup>99</sup> Bezalel NARKISS, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles*. A Catalogue Raisonné. I. The Spanish and Portuguese Manuscripts. Jerusalem – London 1982. I. 14.

<sup>100</sup> MUNKÁCSI c. 1938. 247. Cf. p. 169 below.

<sup>101</sup> David Heinrich MÜLLER – Julius VON SCHLOSSER, *Die Bilderhaggaden der europäischen Sammlungen*. In: David Heinrich MÜLLER – Julius VON SCHLOSSER, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo. Eine spanisch-jüdische Bilderhandschrift des Mittelalters*. Vienna 1898. 198 [ad pag. 103]. VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderschmuck* 1898. 232.

<sup>102</sup> SCHEIBER 1957. 25.

between God and his angel, considering the latter as the form in which God appears to humans. At the same time it can also be evident that for the Christian exegete the angel carries the features of Christ because the Scripture says of him later on that the angel is the saviour from all evil and harm (Gen 48:16).<sup>103</sup> According to the Jewish legend Moses heard God's voice but it was Gabriel who appeared to him.<sup>104</sup> On account of all this it may have seemed quite plausible to a Christian illuminator to represent the angel as Christ. For the interpretation of the figure it would be essential to know whether it is winged, but this question cannot be decided unanimously because of the bad condition of the illustration. At the same time it may be noted that the youth is *bearded*, and angels are only rarely depicted in this way, while Christ in Christian art is regularly represented as a bearded young man.<sup>105</sup> Metzger adduced a nearly completely identical representation in a 13th c. French Christian manuscript, the Psalter of St. Louis, remarking that the figure depicted there is undoubtedly that of Christ. He seems to shrink back from drawing the conclusions, however, declaring in connection with the Kaufmann Haggadah in one place that of course it is out of the question that it could be either God's or Christ's representation, while in another place he seems to accept this interpretation.<sup>106</sup> And it was surely no mere chance that he presented the two illuminations one after the other in the section of illustrations of his work.<sup>107</sup> As far as our manuscript is concerned, the most remarkable thing is that none of its subsequent owners seems to have taken offence at this representation! Unlike the Rylands Haggadah, where efforts have apparently been made to obliterate the figure of the angel from the flames emerging from the burning bush,<sup>108</sup> or the Dyson Perrins Haggadah, where a localized damage suggests that the face of the angel may have been erased from the flame.<sup>109</sup> In the Yahuda Haggadah there is

<sup>103</sup> *Das zweite Buch Mose. Exodus* 1961. 27. *Das erste Buch Mose. Genesis*. Übersetzt und erklärt von Gerhard von Rad. 2. Auflage. [*Das Alte Testament Deutsch. Neues Göttinger Bibelwerk*. Teilband 2/4.] Berlin 1967. 163-164 [*ad* Gen 16,7: Der Engel des Herrn]. *Bibel-Lexikon*. Hrsg. v. Herbert Haag. 4. Aufl. Leipzig 1981. 393-395 [s.v. Engel Jahwes]. Claus WESTERMANN, *Genesis*. 2. Teilband. Genesis 12-36. 2. Auflage. [Biblischer Kommentar. Altes Testament. Band 1/2.] Neukirchen-Vluyn 1989. 289-291 [Exkurs: Der Bote Gottes].

<sup>104</sup> ROTH 1960. 147. SED-RAJNA 1987. 93. For the representation of the angel cf. KAUFMANN, *Bilderzyklen*. In: KAUFMANN 1908-1915. III. 243-244 [No. 20].

<sup>105</sup> Cf. METZGER 1973. 285-286, esp. 286<sup>1-2</sup>. 400 [*ad* p. 286, n. 2], who does not exclude the possibility that the illustration may have been subsequently painted over by Christians. Alexander SCHEIBER also discovered Christ's figure in the angel. SCHEIBER 1957. 17. RÉAU 1955-1959. II. I. 34; II. II. 38.

<sup>106</sup> METZGER 1973. 286-287, Pl. LXIV, fig. 367.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. LXIV-LXV, figs. 367-368.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. NARKISS: 1982. I. 88 [fol. 13v], II. 81 [Pl. LXXVI].

<sup>109</sup> METZGER 1973. 280, Pl. LXV, fig. 369.

a winged angel appearing above the burning bush.<sup>110</sup> In the Golden Haggadah, too, a winged and nimbed angel appears on the mountain above the burning bush,<sup>111</sup> and in the Haggadah bearing the shelf-mark Or. 1404 in the British Library the head of an angel (?) can be seen amidst the flames.<sup>112</sup> It is more proper for a Jewish illuminator to represent the Lord or His angel by rays of gold and the part of a wing, or by a hand stretching out of a wing as in the case of the Sarajevo Haggadah or in the Haggadah Or. 2737 of the British Library: there can be no doubt that the former illumination represents the angel; perhaps the latter one does too, yet could it not be supposed that in the latter the wing is representing the angel while the hand the presence of the Lord?<sup>113</sup> One could also refer to the Second Nürnberg Haggadah, where a banderole can merely be seen appearing slantwise from the sky – perhaps from a cloud? – with a brief description of the scene in Hebrew.<sup>114</sup>

It is at least doubtful whether we are seeing God taking a rest at the end of the Creation in the Sarajevo Haggadah (f.2r) as suggested by Müller's and von Schlosser's caption (*Gottes Sabbathruhe*): this manuscript represents the presence of God by rays of gold (God addressing Adam in Paradise; f.3v), a hand reaching out of the sky (the sacrifice of Isaac; f.8r), and by rays of gold and angelic wings together (the burning bush; f.21v). It is more likely that the seated figure in the hood represents a believer observing the Sabbath.<sup>115</sup>

Scheiber adduced further data to indicate the Christian background of the Kaufmann Haggadah's illuminator: in the representation of the death of the first-born, there are women among the pallbearers (f.1v; fig. 3), and people kneel during prayer (f.26r; fig. 4)<sup>116</sup> – in this illustration one of the figures has his hat on while the other is bareheaded during prayer.<sup>117</sup> Scheiber also adduced the representation of the

<sup>110</sup> Ibid. 281.

<sup>111</sup> NARKISS: 1982. I. 62 [fol. 10v], II. 40 [fig. 132].

<sup>112</sup> Ibid. I. 94 [fol. 1v], II. 94 [fig. 283].

<sup>113</sup> Eugen WERBER, *The Sarajevo Haggadah*. Sarajevo 1988. fol. 21v. METZGER 1973. 281-283. David Heinrich MÜLLER – Julius VON SCHLOSSER, *Die Haggadah des Bosn.-herceg. Landesmuseums in Sarajevo*. In: David Heinrich MÜLLER – Julius VON SCHLOSSER, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*. Eine spanisch-jüdische Bilderhandschrift des Mittelalters. Vienna 1898. 40 [fol. 21']. NARKISS: 1982. I. 47 [fol. 67r], II. 33 [Plate XXVIII, fig. 88].

<sup>114</sup> NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1981. Card No. 60 [*ad* fol. 13r]. Cf. METZGER 1973. 280-281, 286. MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Die Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 143 [*ad* fol. 13r]. On the whole subject – with Christian parallels – see METZGER 1973. 279-288 [Le buisson ardent]. SED-RAJNA 1987. 93-94. Cf. also RÉAU 1955-1959. II. I. 185-186.

<sup>115</sup> MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*. Eine spanisch-jüdische Bilderhandschrift des Mittelalters. Vienna 1898. Tafelband. fols 2, 3', 8, 21'. WERBER 1988. 24, 27 (essay).

<sup>116</sup> SCHEIBER 1957. 16-17. Ibid. 27 [*ad* p. 40].

<sup>117</sup> Ibid. 27 [*ad* p. 40].

dead without a coffin in the illustration of the death of the first-born as a sign of the Christian background of the illuminator. This question requires further investigation. In the Middle Ages there was no general rule as to whether the burial should be in a coffin or not. In Spain the coffin was not in vogue. On the other hand, French Jews seem to have used it – and French customs may have influenced nearby Catalonia.<sup>118</sup> Maimonides, who was born and grew up in Spain, also mentions the use of wooden coffins.<sup>119</sup> Sed-Rajna regards this way of representation as being in accordance with Jewish custom.<sup>120</sup>

We can state now that in view of the proofs adduced in our present article it seems reasonable to assume that in some places and periods at least Christian artists did participate in the illumination of Hebrew manuscripts. After all, illuminated manuscripts were expensive luxury articles which were produced in small numbers only because demand was not great and most of the time the market was probably too small for illuminators specializing in Hebrew manuscripts. However, it can be said that this problem requires further detailed research before a final general statement can be made because conditions may have changed considerably from place to place and from time to time.<sup>121</sup>

An interesting parallel can be adduced here for a similar case when representatives of one religion follow their own traditions in the execution of illustrations in manuscripts belonging to the sphere of another religion: in a Persian manuscript from the sixteenth century preserved in Oxford, the Queen of Sheba is depicted as crossing a real river in front of Solomon. This, however, does not correspond to Islamic tradition but is in accordance with Christian beliefs. This strange phenomenon can be explained by the preponderance of Christians among Persian miniators in those times.<sup>122</sup>

The proofs for an eventual Christian provenance of illustrations must be carefully weighed in every case: not everything is a proof what seems to be one at first sight. Such a case can now be demonstrated in an important though little-known Hebrew

<sup>118</sup> In the Middle Ages, the Provence was culturally and linguistically nearer to Spain than to France. ROTH 1960. 142.

<sup>119</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Jerusalem – New York 1971-1972. IV. 1519 [s.v. Burial], V. 657-658 [s.v. Coffin].

<sup>120</sup> Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *The Kaufmann Haggadah*. Budapest 1990. 19.

<sup>121</sup> On this subject cf. e.g. Evelyn COHEN's contribution *The Kaufmann Mishneh Torah Illuminations* in the present volume and SUCKALE 1988. 123-134. – On an important aspect of the possible early interaction between Christian and Jewish art, see SED-RAJNA 1987. 155-156. Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *Les synagogues antiques*. Architecture, peintures murales, mosaïques du III<sup>e</sup> au X<sup>e</sup> siècle. In: Gabrielle SED-RAJNA – Ziva AMISHAI-MAISELS – Dominique JARRASSÉ – Rudolf KLEIN – Ronny REICH, *L'Art juif*. Paris 1995. 126-127.

<sup>122</sup> André CHASTEL, *La rencontre de Salomon et de la Reine de Saba dans l'iconographie médiévale* – *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 35 (1949) 105, 106 [fig. 5].

manuscript illuminated by a Christian artist in another Hungarian collection. The most beautiful Hebrew manuscript of the National Széchényi Library in Budapest contains the *Sefer Mordechai*, a compendious legal digest of the Talmud by Mordechai ben Hillel from the 13th century destined to replace that voluminous work in everyday life (Ms. Fol. Hebr. 1). The manuscript is dated 1372/3 and it was possible to show recently that it had emerged from a well-known workshop in Lower Austria. There can be no doubt that the illuminators of this manuscript were Christians, who produced Latin manuscripts in the first place but in some cases they worked for Jewish patrons also. It has been assumed that one of the proofs for the Christian background of one of the illuminators is the fact that some heads appearing in the marginal ornamentations are placed upside down. Obviously, it has been assumed, the illuminator was at a loss which way to hold the leaves and on certain occasions he made the wrong choice.<sup>123</sup> Upon closer investigation, however, it becomes clear that this is out of the question because the structure of the ornamentations leaves absolutely no doubt that the illuminator, even if he did not understand the Hebrew text, was perfectly aware of the right position of the leaves. Namely, the pen-and-ink drawings in question are connected to the *left* margin of the scribal columns because they emphasize words appearing at the beginning of chapters, i.e. standing on the *left* side of the columns. In fact, the illuminator never made any mistake in this respect; these strange heads can be attributed to his playful nature instead. This interpretation is further substantiated by the observation that in two cases two heads appear on the same leaf with one in normal position and the other placed upside down. In a third case one head is in the normal upright position while another is placed horizontally on the same leaf. In general, the proportion of these irregularly placed heads is also significant: eight are placed upside down and one horizontally out of a total of eighty-four (or eighty-five). After all, it was not all too difficult to find the right position of the leaves in this MS. Even if the illuminator did not

<sup>123</sup> See Samuel KOHN, *Die hebräischen Handschriften des ungarischen Nationalmuseums zu Budapest*. Sonderabdruck aus dem Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums von Dr. Berliner und Dr. Hoffmann. Jahrg. 1877. Berlin 1877. Idem, *Mardochai ben Hillel*. Sein Leben und seine Schriften sowie die von ihm angeführten Autoritäten. Nebst 6 bisher unedirten hebräischen Beilagen unter Benutzung handschriftlicher Quellen. Breslau 1878. [Separatabdruck von Frankel-Graetz's Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums. [[Bd. 26-27]]. Jahrgang 1877 und 1878.] Andreas FINGERNAGEL – Alois HAIDINGER, *Neue Zeugen des Niederösterreichischen Randleistenstils in hebräischen, deutschen und lateinischen Handschriften* = Codices Manuscripti 39/40 (2002) 15-35 [Andreas FINGERNAGEL, *Die hebräischen Handschriften in Budapest (Cod. Hebr. 1) und Wien (Cod. Hebr. 77)*], esp. 33. István ORMOS, *Mordecháj könyve [Sefer Mordechai]* In: *Jankovich Miklós (1772-1846) gyűjteményei* [The collections of József Jankovich (1772-1846)]. Ed. by Árpád Mikó. Budapest 2002. 255-259.



know Hebrew, the general structure of the script must have been clear to an artist with an eye specially gifted and trained for pictorial representation. In addition, the *right* margins of the scribal columns are always straight, while the *left* ones irregular, a feature unlikely to have escaped his attention.

An interesting area of interaction between the activities of Jews and their Christian neighbours widely represented in illuminated Hebrew manuscripts is the practice of music. The musical instruments depicted in these manuscripts are important witnesses of the cultural history of the areas of their origin and their detailed examination in comparison with contemporary Christian manuscripts is likely to yield promising results. The *Kaufmann Haggadah* (MS Kaufmann A 422) and the *Tripartite Mahzor* (MS Kaufmann A 384) (on both of them see below) contain some remarkable illustrations in this respect. Important attempts have been made recently at their precise interpretation against the background of similar contemporary illustrations elsewhere.<sup>124</sup>

Returning to our wonderful manuscript of the *Mishneh Torah*, we note that the connection between the illustration and the text may be represented in a remarkable way by the figures of David and Goliath, which shows the future king with his crown, while Goliath is "in full armour with chain-mail, golden helmet and greaves, holding an enormous sword in his right hand and a shield in his left".<sup>125</sup> This splendid picture adorns the frontispiece of Book Seven, which deals with the rules of gleaning among other things (fig. 5). The illustration is thus an allusion to the gleaning of Ruth, the ancestress of David, while Orpah is Goliath's mother according to the Midrash (Ruth 1:4).<sup>126</sup>

Another remarkable trait of this manuscript is that it contains many profane illustrations in the margin – in one instance the illustration is even obscene – which bear no relation whatsoever to the text.<sup>127</sup> This cannot be regarded a unique feature of manuscripts produced in the middle of the 13th century: their emergence was closely connected to the spread of Dominican and Franciscan preaching at the time with parables and exempla using motifs from animal fables, bestiaries<sup>128</sup> and *fabliaux*<sup>129</sup> – sometimes even becoming completely independent of the text itself.<sup>130</sup> The widespread

<sup>124</sup> See now András BORGÓ, *Középkori héber kéziratok zenei vonatkozású illusztrációi*. [Illuminations relating to music in medieval Hebrew manuscripts] = Magyar zene [Hungarian Music] 4 (2001) 395-416.

<sup>125</sup> SED-RAJNA 1984. 30-31.

<sup>126</sup> NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1988. First Kaufmann Mishneh Torah. Card No. 15.

<sup>127</sup> See Gabrielle SED-RAJNA's contribution *The Visual Dimension of Jewish Civilization: Concepts and Realizations* in the present volume on pp. 86-87 above.

<sup>128</sup> SED-RAJNA 1984. 35.

<sup>129</sup> See Gustave LANSON, *Histoire de la littérature française*. Onzième édition revue. Paris 1909. 103-109.

<sup>130</sup> SED-RAJNA 1984. 35. See also Joseph GUTMANN, *Hebrew Manuscript Painting*. New York 1978. 84.

use of anecdotes in sermons was meant to rekindle flagging interest in theological dogma among believers, and the margin illustrations in manuscripts are to a considerable extent visual manifestations of themes popularized through *fabliaux* and *exempla*.<sup>131</sup> Gabrielle Sed-Rajna has shown that most of "the marginal figures have been transferred to this manuscript from a model book used also for several contemporary Latin manuscripts from the same area, executed for the local aristocratic family Bar" – an example of close professional relationship between craftsmen of the Jewish and Christian communities.<sup>132</sup> The popularity of representations of this kind in Christian art in general is attested, for instance, by the fiery diatribe of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) against non-religious monastic ornamentation.<sup>133</sup> It may be remarked that margin illustrations – including obscene representations – abound in Christian liturgical books while they are rare in secular ones, a strange phenomenon, which Randall is inclined to attribute to an attempt at "provocation by contrast."<sup>134</sup> Not infrequently it is difficult to decipher the exact symbolic meaning of a given illustration; sometimes this is hardly any longer possible in view of the frequent occurrence of more or less abstruse references to contemporary persons and ideas. There can be no doubt, however, that these margin illustrations were often simply the figments of the artists' imaginations, "diversions which relieved the tedium of daily life."<sup>135</sup> Thus for instance at the bottom of folio 46 of volume I of our manuscript, the frontispiece of the Book of Adoration (fig. 6), we can see a scene "from the *Roman de Renard*: the fox, having stolen a goose (or here a cock), is pursued by a woman brandishing a spindle".<sup>136</sup> In connection with the obscene scene in the upper margin – a man shooting an arrow at the nude hindquarters of a man bending forward – one cannot help but imagine the illuminator who, tired of his monotonous work, suddenly conceives a prank just like an adolescent, in the same way as his modern-day successor, the composer of entries in an encyclopaedia, tired of carding, inserts an entry on a non-existent painter into the serious work of reference, or the lexicographer suddenly gives vent to the accumulated tension of monotony in one of his entries.<sup>137</sup> This overtly homosexual scene, which has numerous counterparts in contemporary

<sup>131</sup> Lilian M. C. RANDALL, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*. Berkeley – Los Angeles 1966. 8. Cf. Idem, *Exempla as a Source of Gothic Marginal Illumination* = Art Bulletin 39 (1957) 97-107.

<sup>132</sup> Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *The Illustrations of the Kaufmann Mishneh Torah* = Journal of Jewish Art 6 (1979) 64-77. See also her contribution to the present volume on pp. 86-87 above.

<sup>133</sup> Quoted in RANDALL 1966. 31.

<sup>134</sup> RANDALL 1966. 14.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>136</sup> SED-RAJNA 1984. PLATE V. On the *Roman de Renard*, see LANSON 1909. 93-103. *Kindlers Literatur Lexikon*. Zürich 1965. VI. 450-455. LAFFONT-BOMPIANI, *Dictionnaire des oeuvres*. Paris 1952-1954. IV. 305-309.

Franco-Flemish religious manuscripts,<sup>138</sup> appears to be a late testimony of a considerable period of social tolerance which saw the efflorescence and prosperity of various urban minority groups in Western Europe, but mostly in France, during the period of urban revival in the High Middle Ages, which had its climax between 1050 and 1150, and disappeared immediately after the thirteenth century.<sup>139</sup> It was in this stiffening social atmosphere, too, in the course of events accompanying the waning of social tolerance in general, that Jews were expelled from France in 1306, and our manuscript, copied and illuminated in France a few years earlier, was in all probability taken to Cologne by one of the fugitive families.<sup>140</sup>

It was not a rare phenomenon for a manuscript to be illuminated with inappropriate scenes: this was a field where contemporary illuminators and copyists were able to display their abilities "indulging in the feeling of freedom with wild leaps and caprices."<sup>141</sup> Thus in a contemporary manuscript in the Ambrosiana in Milan we come across animals such as cocks, apes and dogs decorating philosophical works, and it can only have been the spread and popularity of such inappropriate animal figures that made Rabbi Yehudah ben Samuel the Pious of Speyer in Germany deem it necessary in the second half of the 12th century to prescribe that upon the employment of Jewish Bible-copyists it should be made a condition that they abstain from executing the massoretic apparatus in the shape of all sorts of animals and birds,

<sup>137</sup> *Művészeti lexikon*. [Encyclopaedia of art]. Edited by Anna ZÁDOR and István GENTHON. Budapest. 1965-1968. III. 37 [s.v. *Alfred LEANQUE*]. (This ingenious, playful entry deals with a non-existent French painter, whose name reminds a Hungarian reader of the adjective "link" meaning "unserious", "useless" in colloquial Hungarian.) Előd HALÁSZ, *Német-magyar szótár* [German-Hungarian dictionary]. 9th ed. Budapest 1988. I. 1035 [s.v. *Igel*]. (Under this entry, as the equivalent of a familiar German expression, a long obscene quotation reminiscent of a Hungarian folk-song can be found.) Or, from a different viewpoint, this illustration can perhaps be regarded as a parallel to the graffiti termed "scatological" by LITTMANN; Enno LITTMANN, *Thamūd und Safā. Studien zur altnordarabischen Inschriftenkunde* = [Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 25:1.] Leipzig 1940. 77-78.

<sup>138</sup> See, e.g., RANDALL 1966. Plates CIV. fig. 502 [Merman and man, shot by], CX-CXII. figs. 533-538, CXII. fig. 539 [shooting hindquarters], fig. 540 [*do.*], fig. 541 [spear aimed at hindquarters], fig. 542 [trumpet aimed at hindquarters]. Cf. also the lengthy list RANDALL 1966. 192-194 [Obscaena]. Cf. also *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* 1968-1976. III. 337-338.

<sup>139</sup> John BOSWELL, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality*. Chicago-London 1981. 209-301, 333-334.

<sup>140</sup> SED-RAJNA 1984. 37.

<sup>141</sup> KAUFMANN 1898. 257. Similarly inappropriate figures appear in medieval church architecture as well; see e.g. Peter SPRANGER, *Heilig-Kreuz-Münster Schwäbisch Gmünd*. Schwäbisch Gmünd 2000. 22.

as it happened for instance in the famous Bible manuscript in the Karlsruhe County Library, which had once belonged to Johann Reuchlin, where one initially has the impression of seeing a whole menagerie of lions, bears, oxen, sheep and other animals only to realize later, after thorough examination, that all these animals are in fact concealing the massoretic apparatus written in an extremely small microscript.

Similar representations of animals can be seen in one of the manuscripts of *Malmad ha-talmidim*, the philosophical sermons by Jacob ben Abbamare (Jacob Anatole), one of the followers of Maimonides, a translator at the court of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II. One of the pages (f.4v) of this manuscript (shelf-mark: MS Kaufmann A 287) written in Rimini in Italy towards the end of the 14th century is decorated with splendid illustrations both in the margins and the central parts of the page, crowned by the representation of a lion and lioness lying under stylized trees – the illustration is drawn to life and very nearly radiates the Renaissance *joie de vivre* (fig. 7).<sup>143</sup>

There is another illuminated two-volume copy of the *Mishneh Torah* in the Kaufmann Collection of considerable weight, which was written in 1310 in Germany (MS Kaufmann A 78). Its artistic qualities, however, fall far behind those of the previous one. In the miniature which ornaments the frontispiece of the Book of Knowledge there is a lion sitting on the top of a dome flanked by two turrets while the bearded, seated figure of Maimonides wearing a pointed hat appears below the central arch (fig. 8). In the upper title compartment four dogs are hunting a stag, watched by a seated rabbit. In the lower compartment, from left to right, we see a man about to hit a quadruped with an axe, a stork, and Samson and the lion, while on the left an owl is watching a bear (?) licking honey from a jar.<sup>144</sup>

The Mahzor shelf-mark A 384 contains many exciting illustrations, the details of which have not yet been sufficiently researched. This manuscript was written in Southern Germany (in the region of Lake Constance, Bavaria or the region of the Upper Rhine) around 1320.<sup>145</sup> It is also called *Tripartite Mahzor* because Bezalel Narkiss has shown convincingly that it is in fact volume I of a sizeable manuscript

<sup>142</sup> KAUFMANN 1898. 257-258, 303. On this see Thérèse METZGER, *La masora ornementale et le décor calligraphique dans les manuscrits hébreux espagnols au Moyen Âge*. Colloques Internationaux de Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. N° 547: La paléographie hébraïque médiévale. Paris 11-13 septembre 1972. 87-116, Pl. XCVII-CXII. Joseph GUTMANN, *Masorah Figurata: The Origins and Development of a Jewish Art Form*. In: *Estudios masoreticos* (V Congreso de la IOMS) dedicados a Harry M. Orlinsky. Editados por Emilia Fernández Tejero. Madrid 1983. 49-62. [Reprinted in: GUTMANN 1989. XV. 49-62].

<sup>143</sup> KAUFMANN 1898. 290-291. WEISZ 1906. 99-100.

<sup>144</sup> KAUFMANN 1898. 284-285. NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1988. Second Kaufmann Mishneh Torah. Cards Nos. 4-6.

consisting of three volumes. The two remaining volumes are preserved in the British Library in London and in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.<sup>146</sup> An interesting characteristic of the manuscript is that human female figures generally appear with animals' heads. The adoption of animals' heads occurs in illuminated manuscripts produced in France and Germany in the 13-14th centuries but the general habit is to represent all human figures, male and female alike, in this way – in contradistinction to our manuscript.<sup>147</sup> There is no universally accepted explanation for this peculiarity. Joseph Gutmann writes:

Most scholars feel that it is attributable to an iconophobic tendency in contemporary German Jewry; one scholar claims that these characteristics are caricatures traceable to the medieval stage; others are convinced that they represented godly grace – elevation above the human. None of these theories is satisfactory, since the evidence of the miniatures contradicts the various hypotheses. In the mystical literature of the circle that gathered around the twelfth-century Judah he-Hasid (Judah, the Pious), we do find mention of dog-headed and bird-beaked human beings. The whole problem needs further study.<sup>148</sup>

One of the visitors to our Collection, Ruth Mellinkoff, came to the conclusion during her recent researches that what in fact lies behind the representation of women with the heads of animals – and mainly those considered repulsive in the contemporary imagination – is anti-Jewish feelings of Christian illuminators, who resorted to hidden iconographic allusions which Jewish patrons would not comprehend.

<sup>145</sup> On this manuscript see Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *Le mahzor enluminé. Les voies de formation d'un programme iconographique*. Leiden 1983. 16-17, 47-48, 71-72. NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1988. Tripartite Mahzor, vol. I. Card No. 41. KAUFMANN purchased the manuscript from antiquarian bookseller RABINOWITZ (Munich) in 1883.

<sup>146</sup> Bezalel NARKISS, *A Tripartite Illuminated Mahzor from a South German School of Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts around 1300*. In: *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies* [Jerusalem 1965]. Papers. Jerusalem 1967-1968. II. 129-133. A student of NARKISS has now prepared a thorough analysis of the whole manuscript. Sarit SHALEV-EYNI, *Ha-Mahzor ha mešullāš* [The tripartite Mahzor]. Ph.D.diss. Jerusalem 2001.

<sup>147</sup> See e.g. the so-called *Bird's Head Haggadah* (Israel Museum, Jerusalem, Ms. 180/57), so called because the human figures in it appear mostly with birds' heads. The manuscript was written in Southern Germany around 1300.

<sup>148</sup> GUTMANN 1978. 25-26. See also COHEN 1988. 49. Ruth MELLINKOFF 1999. 11. NARKISS 1967-1968. 133. Heinrich STRAUSS, *Die Kunst der Juden im Wandel der Zeit und Umwelt*. Tübingen 1972. 56-62. Joseph GUTMANN, *The Illuminated Medieval Passover Haggadah: Investigations and Research Problems* – Studies in Bibliography and Booklore 7 (1965) 8 [offprint].

In places one must at least doubt that they would not have comprehended these allusions. It is hardly believable, for instance, that pious Jews would not have been upset by the representations of wild boars in the so-called *Second Nürnberg Haggadah* (f.7r, f.27r). The interpretation of these scenes is controversial. In so far as one of the wild boars is carrying a device reminiscent of a tabernacle (in the Christian sense of the word) while the other is standing on the top of such a device inside which is seated the head of the family leading the festive ritual, they might symbolize the victory of good over evil, but it is equally possible that they are no more than simple decorations inspired by sudden whims of the illustrator. In any case, the pig has negative connotations in mediaeval Christian art in general: it is the symbol of gluttony and materialism.<sup>149</sup> The background for the choice of this tabernacle- or monstrance-like device is not clear either; it appears quite often in this manuscript and at times it is placed on the back of various animals and mythological creatures. In addition, quite a number of similar turret- and castle-like devices appear in various places in this manuscript, and King Solomon's throne is of similar structure too. Consequently, the use of this device as a motif of ornamentation need not necessarily be attributed to a deeper meaning related to the role of the tabernacle and the monstrance in the Roman Catholic Church, but may be rooted simply in the ornamental vocabulary of the artist. We cannot be quite sure of this, though. This tabernacle also appears in other manuscripts of German origin: Kaufmann terms it "the favourite decoration of the German Haggadah" (*diese Lieblingsdekoration der deutschen Haggada*), which occurs in most representations of liturgical acts deserving special emphasis. Narkiss and Sed-Rajna use the neutral expression "architectural framework."<sup>150</sup> Metzger also mentions this motif listing it under the motif of canopy (baldachin) without comment.<sup>151</sup> In general, a tabernacle marks off a space of special rank, of pre-eminent importance.<sup>152</sup>

The fact that only women and not men were portrayed with animals' heads can in Ruth Mellinkoff's view be explained by the fact that in mediaeval Germany men wore the pointed Jewish hat as a disreputable badge while women did not, so the artist portrayed them with the heads of disreputable animals instead.<sup>153</sup> She detects similar hidden anti-Jewish sentiments in an important illumination (f.103v) displaying in the upper margin a grotesque, perhaps a clown, exhibiting his naked

<sup>149</sup> RÉAU 1955-1959. I. 131.

<sup>150</sup> MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 136, 157, Tafel XIX. VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderschmuck* 1898. 236. KAUFMANN, *Bilderzyklen*. In: KAUFMANN 1908-1915. III. 235-240. Bezalel NARKISS – Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *Index of Jewish Art*. Volume II/2 (1978). The Second Nürnberg Haggadah. München – New York – London – Paris 1981. Cards Nos. 35, 118.

<sup>151</sup> METZGER 1973. 350\*: *les tabernacles gothiques selon le mot de Müller-Schlosser et de Kaufmann*.

<sup>152</sup> *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* 1968-1976. I. 240 [s.v. Ciborium, Baldachin].

hindquarters in an indecent way (fig. 9). It was mainly on the basis of this illustration, incidentally, that this manuscript could be dated: the figures of the two knights are no doubt an allusion to the battle of Mühldorf, which took place on 28 September 1322 between Frederick the Fair and the friend of his youth, Louis of Bavaria – the arms of Austria and Bavaria appear on the caparisons of the mounts.<sup>154</sup> However, the two fighting knights are also known in Christian art as the representations of the spiritual struggle between righteousness and evil, as illustrated in Psalm I.<sup>155</sup> It is possible that similar anti-Semitic sentiments may also lie behind the frequent occurrence of the representation of the owl in margin illustrations in the *Kaufmann Haggadah*: in Christian manuscripts the owl is the symbol of the Jews, who – just like the birds of the night – prefer the darkness of evil and sin to the light of the Gospel (figs 16-17).<sup>156</sup> Similarly, the occurrence of pigs in certain manuscripts such as the Second Nürnberg Haggadah may bear more or less hidden anti-Semitic connotations: the pig is the symbol of evil, the devil, the sinner, uncleanness, immoderateness, gluttony, unchasteness and wrath. In the 13th century, with the emergence of anti-Semitism, it occurs in Christian art for the first time as the symbol of the Jews, too.<sup>157</sup>

Our interpretation of this phenomenon receives a considerably more differentiated background and gains in depth if we consider the situation displayed by the Hebrew manuscript in the National Széchényi Library already referred to above (*Sefer Mordechai*). In this remarkable manuscript some heads appear in the marginal ornamentation which lend themselves to such an interpretation although such an interpretation is by no means cogent. Now, the heads in question constitute only a tiny minority of the eighty-four (or eighty-five) heads appearing in the manuscript altogether. Other – Christian – manuscripts illuminated by the same artist are known from Lower Austria and similar heads appear there also, this time with bishops' mitres and monks' tonsures. Consequently if we interpret his drawings as caricatures then we must admit that our artist was not selective in his dislike: he was equally critical of Christian clerics also.<sup>158</sup> Another aspect of this manuscript is worth mentioning in this context. A few of the heads referred to are placed upside down. This strange phenomenon has been interpreted as a result of the Christian artist's ignorance of the

<sup>153</sup> MELLINKOFF 1999. 35-42 (Chapter Five: Animals with negative connotations), 56-57.

<sup>154</sup> MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 114, 117 [=WEISZ 1906. 124, 125]. NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1988. Tripartite Mahzor, vol. I. Card No. 8. SED-RAJNA doubts that the manuscript could be closely connected to this special battle nevertheless she agrees too that the manuscript is likely to have been produced around the date suggested. SED-RAJNA 1983. 16-17, 48.

<sup>155</sup> VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderschmuck* 1898. 235.

<sup>156</sup> RÉAU 1955-1959. I. 126.

<sup>157</sup> *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* 1968-1976. IV. 134-136, esp. 135.

correct position of the leaves owing to his ignorance of the Hebrew script. As we have shown above, this is out of the question because the general structure of the ornamentation leaves no doubt that the artist was familiar with the correct position of the leaves and he never made mistakes in this respect. Rather, this phenomenon is to be attributed to his playful mind, which tried to lift the boredom of long and tedious working hours with such childish jokes. However, another idea comes to mind also. It has been recorded that in modern states, after great political changes, when for some reason it was impossible to issue new stamps with the portrait of the new ruler, or, in the case of the collapse of a monarchy, with the emblems of the new republic, the old stamps were retained for a while but they had to be put on the envelopes upside down, otherwise they were not valid. So one may ask himself, whether in our case the strange position of the heads could be simply a source of humour or derision?

On account of their iconographical interest and simple charm let us select some signs of the Zodiac – in this type of Mahzor they illustrate two piyyuts by Eleazar Kalir (6th c.), the prayer for dew and rain on the Day of Atonement. The types of representation of the signs of the Zodiac in our manuscript closely correspond to similar representations in contemporary Christian calendars, breviaries and psalters.<sup>159</sup> Within the framework of the religio-astrological interpretation of the cosmic system, the Zodiac represents the signs of the night sky while the illustrations of the months stand for the earth by representing the labours characteristic of the given period of the year.<sup>160</sup> The most interesting and most enigmatic of all of them is without doubt the sign of Gemini (fig. 10). Generally, the representation of this sign ranges from a transformation of Castor and Pollux as a caressing pair of a male and female to two armed knights embracing in a fight.<sup>161</sup> In our case we can see two dog-headed figures facing each other holding an unidentifiable device with a shaft in their hands (a mirror with a red frame? a shaft or stick with a red plate? a flower?).<sup>162</sup> It also seems as if the figure on the right had a kerchief on its head, suggesting that the figures are male and female.<sup>163</sup> Such a representation of Gemini is unknown elsewhere in Europe, and Gotthard Strohmaier has succeeded in tracing this motif to the Islamic world at the same time recognizing it also in one of

<sup>158</sup> FINGERNAGEL – HAIDINGER 2002. 34.

<sup>159</sup> SED-RAJNA 1983. 32-37, esp. 32-33.

<sup>160</sup> Gerlinde STROHMAIER-WIEDERANDERS, *Imagines anni*. Monatsbilder. Von der Antike bis zur Romantik. Halle 1999. 46. This work deals extensively and exhaustively with the characteristic representations of the labours of the months appearing in the medallions accompanying the signs of the Zodiac. Cf. also *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* 1968-1976. III. 274-279.

<sup>161</sup> See SED-RAJNA 1983. 34.

<sup>162</sup> MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 117. NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1988. Tripartite Mahzor, vol. I. Card No. 13.



the enigmatic ornamentations of a mediaeval German altarcloth dating from the end of the 13th century, the so-called *Zehdenicker Altartuch*, one of the treasures of the Märkisches Museum in Berlin.<sup>164</sup> The problem requires further investigation. In the accompanying medallion, in Müller's and von Schlosser's view, the female figure can be taken to represent the idealized love of mediaeval German courtly and knightly love, Frau Minne, with crown and sceptre, sitting in the flowering branches of a tree and holding a falcon on her left hand. Narkiss and Sed-Rajna recognize in this figure the labour of hawking or the flower-bearer characteristic of the month of Siwan.<sup>165</sup> In Sed-Rajna's opinion the man is wearing a crown. Perhaps rather a falconer's cap? In general, both motifs – the falconer/hawking and man/woman with flowers – were common for April-May-June and August.<sup>166</sup> Sed-Rajna stresses that the female figure may hark back to an antique prototype, that of Rosalia, too, representing the awakening of Nature.<sup>167</sup> The fantastic representation of Cancer, perhaps betraying Oriental influence, is also remarkable (fig. 11): "a hybrid animal composed of a wolf's body and head, a griffon's paws and a fish for a tail"<sup>168</sup> – this type of representation is unique to our manuscript, it cannot be found anywhere else. Next to it we see a man digging the soil as the labour of the month of Tammuz<sup>169</sup> – while the representation of Scorpion as a tortoise (fig. 12) should not surprise us, because an illuminator living in the vicinity of Lake Constance at the beginning of the 14th century may not have had the faintest idea what a real scorpion looked like – the labour of the month of Marheshwan is the vine harvest.<sup>170</sup> It may be noted in this context that the representation of Scorpion as a tortoise among the signs of the Zodiac was common in contemporary Christian art, too.<sup>171</sup> The combined sign of Aquarius and Capricorn radiates a certain rustic atmosphere with the beautiful sweep (draw-well) and the kid quenching its thirst from the bucket (fig. 13). Next to it we see in two medallions a sower and a peasant "holding up a boot while warming his bare foot by the fire, above which hangs

<sup>163</sup> *Loc. cit.* See also SED-RAJNA 1983. 34.

<sup>164</sup> Gotthard STROHMAIER, *Arabische Astrologie auf dem Zehdenicker Altartuch* = Jahrbuch des Märkischen Museums 4 (1978) 105-108, 204 (Abb. 31).

<sup>165</sup> MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 117. NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1988. Tripartite Mahzor, vol. I. Card Nos. 13-15.

<sup>166</sup> See STROHMAIER-WIEDERANDERS 1999. 33, 40, 47, 50, 59, 69.

<sup>167</sup> SED-RAJNA 1983. 37.

<sup>168</sup> NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1988. Tripartite Mahzor, vol. I. Card No. 16.

<sup>169</sup> MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 117-118. NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1988. Tripartite Mahzor, vol. I. Card Nos. 16-17.

<sup>170</sup> MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 118. NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1988. Tripartite Mahzor, vol. I. Card Nos. 24-25.

<sup>171</sup> SED-RAJNA 1983. 34.

a cauldron."<sup>172</sup> The figure of a man warming himself by the fire was a widespread motif in the representation of the winter months (December, January).<sup>173</sup>

In perhaps the most famous illustration of the whole manuscript, decorating the frontispiece to the Song of Songs, we see King Solomon seated on his throne in the company of his animals with the Queen of Sheba in front of him, whom the artist has portrayed with an animal's head in the upper left-hand compartment (fig. 14). It seems to be no pure coincidence that Solomon and the Queen of Sheba appear together at the head of the Song of Songs: Solomon is indicated as the author in the title of the work itself, consequently the Lover can easily be identified with him, while a widespread, old tradition going back to Philon of Alexandria and eminently maintained by Isidore of Seville among others identifies the Beloved, the Bride, with the Queen of Sheba. This tradition enjoyed considerable popularity in the Middle Ages.<sup>174</sup> The Queen, wearing a crown, appears in the company of another zoocephalic female and "three human-headed hybrid acrobat-musicians playing a pipe and a tambourine and ringing a bell."<sup>175</sup> In the lower left-hand compartment we see Solomon's judgement (1 Kings 3:16-28) – according to a popular tradition the Queen of Sheba assisted at the judgement.<sup>176</sup> The King, wearing gloves, a purple mantle and a crown on his head, and holding a sword, is sitting cross-legged pointing to the Torah, which is in the right-hand turret of his throne, while in the left-hand turret there is a lamp – the eternal light. Behind him two columns of his Temple can be seen. He is encircled

<sup>172</sup> NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1988. Tripartite Mahzor, vol. I. Cards Nos. 28-30. Cf. MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 118.

<sup>173</sup> STROHMAIER-WIEDERANDERS 1999. 39, 59, 64, 68, 72, 74 (with a cauldron above the fire), 78.

<sup>174</sup> CHASTEL 1949. 101. Idem, *Fables, formes, figures*. Paris 1978. I. 90-91. Cf. also Edward ULLENDORFF, *Ethiopia and the Bible*. London 1968. 131-145. Giovanni CANOVA, *Tha'labī Storia di Bilqīs, regina di Saba*. Venezia 2000. 2-54, 101-108. Aviva KLEIN-FRANKE, *Die Königin von Saba in der jüdischen Überlieferung*. In: *Die Königin von Saba*. Kunst, Legende und Archäologie zwischen Morgenland und Abendland. Herausgegeben von Werner Daum. Stuttgart – Zürich 1988. 105-110. André CHASTEL, *Regina Sibilla*. Ibid. 117-120. THA'LABI's version of the story of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba from his *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* can be consulted in *Chrestomathie aus arabischen Prosaschriftstellern*. Ed. by Rudolf Brünnow. (Porta Linguarum Orientalium, Pars XVI). Berlin-London-New York 1895. 1-22. A remarkable independent development of the story of the Queen of Sheba can be found in the *Legenda Aurea*, where the Queen and Solomon at one point get involved with a piece of wood out of which the cross of Jesus Christ will be hewn later on, a fact of course not concealed from the Queen. Jacobus DE VORAGINE, *Die Legenda aurea* aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt von Richard Benz. Berlin 1963. 378-379.

<sup>175</sup> NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1988. Tripartite Mahzor, vol. I. Card No. 37.

<sup>176</sup> RÉAU 1955-1959. II. I. 289. SED-RAJNA 1987. 126. Earlier the identification of the two female figures in the lower left compartment was not unambiguous: from their gestures

by the Sun, the Moon and the stars. On the steps of his throne sit various animals.<sup>177</sup> There is only one known parallel to this most unique representation in the synagogue at Dura Europos, but the difference of nearly eleven centuries between the two is likely to preclude any direct connection and we must conclude that the two artists created similar works on the basis of the same text. At the same time we cannot completely discount the idea that in mediaeval Jewry there perhaps existed a tradition of the transmission of pictorial representations going back to Antiquity and still active in the Middle Ages.<sup>178</sup> This representation of Solomon is remarkable because it unites in one composition, without chronological order, all the main feats of Solomon's career: the completion of the Temple, the judgement, to which he owes his reputation of the wise king, and the adoration of the Queen of the South, which mirrors the universal radiation of his reign. The stars, the Sun and the Moon echo medieval legends perhaps which attribute cosmic power to Solomon.<sup>179</sup>

Perhaps the most famous manuscript in the whole Kaufmann Collection is the so-called *Kaufmann Haggadah* (MS Kaufmann A 422),<sup>180</sup> It was produced in 14th century Catalonia. The first scholars to study it considered this manuscript to be of Italian origin. Subsequent research, however, traced its origins to Catalonia.<sup>181</sup> It contains the

NARKISS concluded that we might have Solomon's judgement before our eyes. NARKISS 1967-1968. 133. Cf. the corresponding scene in the so-called Second Nürnberg Haggadah (fol. 40v), which leaves no doubt as to its interpretation. MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 169-170 [Fol. 40'], Tafel XXVI. NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1981. Card No. 164. It may be remarked that in Jewish mysticism, the Qabbalah, the Queen of Sheba is sometimes identified with Lilith, who in turn is sometimes regarded as identical with one of the two females requesting Solomon's decision. Gershom SCHOLEM, *Lilith und die Königin von Saba*. In: *Die Königin von Saba* 1988. 165.

<sup>177</sup> MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 119. SED-RAJNA 1983. 29-30. NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1988. Tripartite Mahzor, vol. I. Cards Nos. 34-38. The representation mainly follows the Targum Sheni to Esther based on 1 Kings 10:18-21. SED-RAJNA 1987. 126-127, 130 [fig. No. 148]. On the symbolic interpretation of Solomon's throne see RÉAU 1955-1959. II. 1. 293-294. *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* 1968-1976. IV. 21-22. *King Solomon's seal*. Ed. Rachel Milstein. Jerusalem [c. 1995]. 20-28, 183-182 [!]. On Solomon's throne in the Islamic tradition see Priscilla SOUCEK, *Solomon's Throne/Solomon's Bath: Model or Metaphor?* = *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993) 113-114.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid. 127. Cf. ibid. 155-156. For another remarkable representation of Solomon's throne in medieval art see Mathias KÖHLER, *Bebenhausen. Klosteranlage und Schloß*. (Führer. Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten.) Heidelberg [c. 2000] 30.

<sup>179</sup> SED-RAJNA 1983. 29-30.

<sup>180</sup> It is worth mentioning in connection with this manuscript that the earlier *pagination* was replaced by *folio*-numbers at its restoration in 1987. Consequently, earlier references to page-numbers do not coincide with modern references to folio-numbers.

prayers, poems and narrative texts to be recited on the eve of the festival of the Jewish Easter, Pesach, the Feast of the *Passover*,<sup>182</sup> in which the participants recall the joy of deliverance from servitude in Egypt, thanking God for his miraculous works<sup>183</sup>. In the 11-15th centuries Haggadahs were not infrequently produced for private, family use – the Kaufmann manuscript also bears the marks of almost excessive use.

Both in the *Kaufmann Haggadah* and the *Sarajevo Haggadah* there are conspicuous traces of children's drawings, a fact no doubt indicative of the considerable popularity of these manuscripts among children, which can also be explained, to a certain extent at least, by the important part children play in the traditional rite of Passover.<sup>184</sup> In view of this there can hardly be imagined a sadder scene than when one of the sons of the family appeared at the Sephardic elementary school in Sarajevo with one of the family's most treasured possessions, something they had owned perhaps for a considerable period, forced now to sell it because of straitened circumstances occasioned by the sudden death of their father: the lavishly illuminated manuscript became known as the *Sarajevo Haggadah*.<sup>185</sup> It may have been in a similar straitened situation that that the Schwarz family parted with the splendid, illuminated Mahzor executed in France around 1300, which they had possessed since 1702 and which was still in their possession in Miskolc, Hungary, in the 1950s. The family later emigrated to Canada and there they sold the priceless manuscript.<sup>186</sup>

We can see in our mind the father who is all too fond of showing his children the splendid illustrations, both on the festival itself and at other times too. Young and old alike gather around him after dinner in order to enjoy the paintings: children play a central role in the rite of Passover and what else can arouse their interest but splendid pictures?<sup>187</sup> They are gazing spellbound at the marvellous illustration depicting the Exodus from Egypt: the bearded Moses in his pointed red hat with a

<sup>181</sup> MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 189. [=WEISZ 1906. 146-147.] VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderschmuck* 1898. 211. SCHEIBER 1957. 8-12. Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *The Kaufmann Haggadah*. Budapest 1990. 6.

<sup>182</sup> Cf. "For the LORD will pass through to smite the Egyptians; and when he sees the blood upon the lintel, and on the two side posts, the LORD will *pass over* the door, and will not allow the destroyer to enter your houses to strike you." Ex 12:23.

<sup>183</sup> On the decoration program of Catalanian Haggadas in general see NARKISS 1982. I. 42-44.

<sup>184</sup> See the next paragraph.

<sup>185</sup> WERBER 1988. 20.

<sup>186</sup> *Fine Judaica including a highly important Mediaeval Illuminated Hebrew Manuscript*. Sale: Wednesday 21 June 1989. Christie's Amsterdam. 1989. 142-149 [No. 390]. Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *Les manuscrits hébreux enluminés des bibliothèques de France*. Notices codicologiques, relevé des inscriptions par Sonia FELLOUS. [Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, Vol. 7. Oriental Series 3.] Leuven – Paris 1994. 172-174 [No. 68].

feather is leading the Jews, who are carrying dough wrapped in cloths over their shoulders (Ex 12:34-35). On the left an Egyptian city lying on their way can be seen (Baal Zephon? cf. Ex 14:2), its gates closed while from above the inhabitants watch the Jews passing by and knocking on the gates, while a dog wearing a crimson neckband is standing in the foreground. The figure of the dog, which seems to have been treated very well in recent times, is an allusion to the passage: "But against the children of Israel no dog shall *stick out its tongue*" (Ex 11:7).<sup>188</sup> The exact meaning of the expression is not quite clear, it seems to mean something like "to stick the tongue out, to threaten someone." Our illustration apparently follows the traditional interpretation going back to Rashi quoted above: the dog's tongue seems to be missing.<sup>189</sup> In the background the crowned figure of Pharaoh emerges, pursuing the refugees (fig. 15).<sup>190</sup> Young and old are amazed at the marvellous figures that populate the folios of the manuscript and in this family circle the father is all too willing to yield to their urging and to tell them the stories of the Biblical figures, while the imagination of the young is captivated more by the owls (figs 16-17) – the latter serves as a decoration for the panel of the son who does not know how to ask. In the former illustration we can see a figure emerging from the decoration in the margin aiming with his arrow at an owl. A very similar scene appears in the 14th century *Catalonian Haggadah* formerly in the possession of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres (London), now one of the treasures of the John Rylands University Library (Manchester; Hebrew MS 6): a fantastic hybrid is aiming with his arrow at an owl from below.<sup>191</sup> In the case of a hunter aiming with his arrow at an owl we are in all probability dealing with a simple decoration in the margin, although there have been efforts to interpret it as the extension of the motif of the rabbit hunt so common in Ashkenazic Haggadahs, which owes its popularity to a Jewish German mnemotechnic pun there. Namely, the initials of the Hebrew names of the ceremonial elements of the twofold benediction at the beginning of the feast

<sup>187</sup> KOHN Zoltán, *Magyarázó jegyzetek a haggadához*. [Explanatory remarks to the Haggadah]. In: *OMZSA haggáda* [Haggadah of the National Hungarian Jewish Rescue Action / Országos Magyar Zsidó Segítő Akció]. Budapest 1942. 73 [117, 118]. MUNKÁCSI Ernő, *A peszach ünnep története* [The history of Pesach festival]. In: *OMZSA haggáda* 1942. XXXII, XLVIII. MUNKÁCSI c. 1938. 14.

<sup>188</sup> KAUFMANN, *Bilderzyklen*. In: KAUFMANN 1908-1915. III. 233.

<sup>189</sup> GESENIUS 1959. 262a. KOEHLER – BAUMGARTNER 1967-1995. 342. *Das zweite Buch Mose. Exodus*. 1961. 68 [ad loc.]. On associations with dogs in Jewish and Christian art in general see MELLINKOFF 1999. 38-39. RÉAU 1955-1959. I. 128.

<sup>190</sup> MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 189, 197 [ad p. 74]. NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1988. Kaufmann Haggadah. Card No. 44.

<sup>191</sup> MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 102, Plate III. [Tafel III.]. ROTH 1960, ill. opp. page 137 (fol. 29v), 140-141. NARKISS 1982. II. 90 [fig. 267].

of Passover and at the termination of Sabbath add up to an expression which lends itself to a Jewish German interpretation as an acronym: *Yayin* [wine], *Qiddush* [sanctification], *Ner* [light], *Havdalah* [distinction], *Zeman* [time] > *YaQeNHaz* > *Jag'n Has'* > *Jag' den Has'* = Chase the rabbit! The acceptance of this interpretation in our case is seriously hindered by the fact that it works only in a Germanic-speaking context, unless we assume that it was already a popular motif that found its way from one community to the other.<sup>192</sup> In the Rylands Haggadah the motif of the hare-hunt and the hunter aiming with his arrow at an owl appear in fact on the same page (fol. 29v).<sup>193</sup> In Roth's opinion, the hare-hunt may be "no more than a pictorial echo of the widespread European practice of a hare-hunt at this season of the year, at Eastertide: a practice itself doubtless rooted in pagan antiquity. (The hare was in fact the sacred animal of the Teutonic goddess of the spring Eostre or Ostâra, from which derives the name Easter, and in Continental Europe is still as characteristic of the season as the egg, which likewise survives in the Jewish Passover observances)."<sup>194</sup> The hare is of course a well-known symbol of fertility too. Similar decorations are widespread in the margins of Christian manuscripts, too.<sup>195</sup> Stag hunting and similar motifs may perhaps allude to the persecution of Jews in Hebrew manuscripts while the hare pursuing the hunter and the dog is a popular motif of the world turned upside down (*monde renversé*).<sup>196</sup> Incidentally, in Christian manuscripts, owls are frequently used as symbols of the Jews, who – just like the birds of the night – prefer the darkness of error and sin to the light of the Gospel.<sup>197</sup>

Young and old are also captivated by the cockfight with the strange semi-nude grotesques riding on them (fig. 18), or the illustration of Pesach: a bareheaded man is leading a lamb on a lead with a knife in his left hand (fig. 19).<sup>198</sup> The fact that the figure of the wicked son is represented by an armed soldier, a mercenary (fig. 20), probably reflects the sad experiences of mediaeval Jewry.<sup>199</sup> On the other hand, the wise son is represented by the beautiful figure of a scholar in a green mantle (fig. 21).

<sup>192</sup> MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 133-134. VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderschmuck* 1898. 237. METZGER 1973. 98-103.

<sup>193</sup> ROTH 1960. ill. opposite page 137, 140-141.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.* 347-348.

<sup>196</sup> SCHEIBER 1957. 26-27.

<sup>197</sup> RÉAU 1955-1959. I. 126.

<sup>198</sup> MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 196 (*ad* p. 64). NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1988. Kaufmann Haggadah. Card No. 38. METZGER 1973. 183.

<sup>199</sup> Cf. also KAUFMANN, *Bilderzyklen*. In: KAUFMANN 1908-1915. III. 237 (*ad* F. 9a. 35). SCHEIBER 1957. 26. METZGER 1973. 149-156. NARKISS 1982. 43.

Our manuscript is in rather bad condition.<sup>200</sup> The colours were of inferior quality right at the time of its birth and the manner of its execution also left a lot to be desired. As a consequence of heavy use, the colours and the gold simply fell off in many places. They were subsequently replaced with substances of even lower quality, and this procedure may have been repeated several times in certain parts. The margins of the manuscript are mutilated too: over the centuries the manuscript was rebound, perhaps several times, and on these occasions the margins were trimmed, as a consequence of which the decorations in the margins have been damaged in a number of places. In spite of all this, however, the manuscript is still a most precious relic of cultural history – in addition to its religious significance – and one of the most important gems of mediaeval art in general. The interested reader is referred to the splendid facsimile edition published recently, which is accompanied by a fascicle containing a valuable and informative essay by Gabrielle Sed-Rajna.<sup>201</sup> In addition to the "standard" version, which was also published in English, there appeared a luxury edition in a velvet presentation box accompanied by a considerably longer essay [39 pp.; 30 cm] with the detailed and exact description of the Biblical scenes among others. This is all the more important because owing to the loss of colours and the disturbed sequence of the pictures, even a skilled eye will sometimes fail to recognize the subject of a given picture.

From among the illustrations on Biblical themes – although originally they did not form part of Haggadahs – we select two intriguing scenes from Moses' childhood when he was living at Pharaoh's court (f.9v; fig. 22). These scenes do not appear in the Bible itself but have been preserved in the rich treasury of Jewish legend.<sup>202</sup> For a detailed description of these scenes we turn to Gabrielle Sed-Rajna:

<sup>200</sup> Our manuscript was restored under the guidance of Ildikó BEÖTHY-KOZOCSA in the Restoring Laboratory of the National Széchényi Library, Budapest, in 1987. This meant the conservation of the given condition and the preservation of the manuscript rather than the replacement of parts already destroyed or lost. See pp. 105-112 above.

<sup>201</sup> *Kaufmann haggáda*. A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára Keleti Gyűjteményében őrzött, 14. századból származó héber kézirat. Budapest 1990. (Also with a Hebrew title-page at the other end.) The accompanying essay in a separate fascicle: Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *Kaufmann haggáda*. Budapest 1990. 23 pp. [27 cm]. Incidentally, an earlier facsimile edition of this manuscript appeared in 1957: *The Kaufmann Haggadah*. Facsimile edition of MS 422 of the Kaufmann Collection in the Oriental Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. [Publications of the Oriental Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, I.] Budapest 1957 (plates). Alexander SCHEIBER, *The Kaufmann Haggadah*. Budapest 1957 (an informative essay in a separate fascicle.) It was also published in German in two editions in 1958 and 1959.

<sup>202</sup> See SCHEIBER 1957. 17-18. Idem, *Korona és parázs* [Crown and embers]. In: Idem, *Folklor és tárgytörténet* [Studies in folklore]. Budapest 1977-1984. III. 486-489. One of the main sources is Josephus FLAVIUS' *Antiquitates Iudaicae* (II. IX, 7). There, however, the story

**Upper compartment: Moses taking off Pharaoh's crown.** Pharaoh was dining one day in the company of his daughter and Moses. Pharaoh's daughter, wearing a gold diadem, is seated on the right, the crowned Pharaoh in the center and between them the young Moses wearing also a crown. During the dinner, the playful child took off the king's crown. This is the gesture which is evoked in the painting. Pharaoh's wise men interpret the gesture of the child as an evil omen. Pharaoh hence decided to call for all the wise men of Egypt in order to decide whether the child acted as an innocent infant or with wisdom, revealing his ambition to take over the kingdom from Pharaoh. The painting shows the three councillors in a lively discussion, one of them holding a scroll which might have been inscribed, but is blank at present.

**Lower compartment: The test of Moses.** Knowing that Moses was in danger, God sent the angel Gabriel disguised as one of the wise men. When they were asked to give their opinion, Gabriel suggested that the child should be tested: an onyx stone and a vessel of live coal should be placed before him. If he stretches out his hand to grasp the onyx, which is the symbol of power, it proves that the child acted with wisdom and he has to be killed. But if he chose the burning coal his innocence would become evident and he could live. The image depicts the test: on the right the enthroned Pharaoh with a vessel full of gold on his lap; in front of him the young Moses and Gabriel descending from a cloud guiding the child's hand toward the vessel of burning coal. The coal burned the child's hand, so he lifted it up and touched his mouth. By doing so he burned his lips and tongue. That is why he became "slow of speech" for all his life (Exodus 4:10). His life, however, was safe. Pharaoh's councillors are watching the scene on the left.<sup>203</sup>

differs somewhat from the version depicted here. FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *Jüdische Altertümer*. Übersetzt von Heinrich CLEMENTZ. 7. Aufl. Wiesbaden 1987. I. 113. In general, see Joseph GUTMANN, *The Testing of Moses: A Comparative Study in Christian, Muslim and Jewish Art* Bulletin of the Asia Institute (Detroit, Michigan). N.S. 2 (1988) 107-117. [Reprinted in: GUTMANN 1989. XIV. 107-117].

<sup>203</sup> Gabrielle SED-RAJNA, *The Kaufmann Haggadah*. Budapest 1990. 24-25, 35-36. Cf. MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 193-194. SCHEIBER 1957. 17. GUTMANN 1960. 18\*-19\*. This page illustrates the general condition of our manuscript. The illustration in the upper compartment appears in the *Second Nürnberg Haggadah*. MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 138-139 [Fol. 9], Tafel XX. NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1981. Cards Nos. 43-44. Cf. also KAUFMANN, *Bilderzyklen*. In: KAUFMANN 1908-1915. III. 242 [*ad F.* 8b]. SED-RAJNA 1987. 92. Cf. RÉAU 1955-1959. II. I. 182-183.



The lamps that appear in another panel, depicting the interior of a synagogue in the text, are indicative of a certain Middle Eastern connection (fol. 42r; fig. 23). This panel illustrates the morning prayer, which forms part of the Pesach ritual.<sup>204</sup> (This practice – no longer followed – consisted of reciting the haggadah in the synagogue for the benefit of those who were unskilled in reciting it.)<sup>205</sup> These lamps must have been quite widespread in contemporary Catalonia because they appear not only in other places of our manuscript (fols 1v; 6r) but in other Haggadahs of Catalonian origin too.<sup>206</sup> In connection with these lamps it may be noted that they are characteristic of Cairene mosques of the Mamluk period – the best known among them are perhaps the splendid specimens decorating the Mosque of Sultan Hasan.

One must note that, in Egypt, the mosques at night were lit by lamps of glass or bronze. The former, at the best period, were of polychrome enamelled glass made in Syria. The art of making such lamps appears to have developed about A. D. 1250 and to have died out at the very beginning of the fifteenth century, probably owing to the disaster of 1401, when Damascus was captured by Timur, or Tamerlane, who led its architects and craftsmen away captive to embellish his capital Samarkand. Only about a hundred and fifty of these enamelled glass lamps have survived

<sup>204</sup> For a detailed description of the scene see SED-RAJNA, *The Kaufmann Haggadah*. Budapest 1990. 13. Cf. also MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 197 [ad p. 72]. NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1988. Kaufmann Haggadah. Card No. 43.

<sup>205</sup> Joseph GUTMANN, *The Illuminated Medieval Passover Haggadah: Investigations and Research Problems* = Studies in Bibliography and Booklore 7 (1965) 18 [of the offprint].

<sup>206</sup> Similar lamps can be seen in the *Sarajevo Haggadah*, in the Haggadahs of the British Library shelf-marks Or. 2737 (fol. 20v) and 2884 (fol. 17v) – all three Haggadahs are of Spanish origin. Eugen WERBER, *The Sarajevo Haggadah*. Sarajevo 1988. fol. 34r [plates], fol. 31v [text]. NARKISS 1982. II. 21 [Fig. 81]. MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Die Haggadah* 1898. 321. Ibid. *Tafelband*. Fol. 34. MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 104–105 [fol. 17v], Tafel VI, Fig. 1. In the latter place we can see the interior of a synagogue wholly reminiscent of ours (MS Brit. Mus. Or. 2884, fol. 17v). G. MARGOLIOUTH's description, according to which it shows the head of the family in a sort of "Mimbar", or pulpit, is probably false although the Hebrew caption says so itself. MÜLLER – VON SCHLOSSER, *Bilderhaggaden* 1898. 110. MUNKÁCSI's effort at solving this riddle remains unsuccessful. Ernest [=Ernő] MUNKÁCSI, *Ancient and Medieval Synagogues in Representations of the Fine Arts*. In: *Jubilee Volume in Honour of Prof. Bernhard Heller on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*. Ed. by Alexander Scheiber. Budapest 1941. 246–247. Vid. also NARKISS 1982. I 75 [ad fol. 17v], II. 59 [fig. 187]. A similar interior can also be seen in the *Catalonian Haggadah* Add. 14761 in the British Library. Ibid. I. 83 [fol. 65v], II. 78 [fig. 241]. Cf. GUTMANN 1965. 18 [of the offprint].

and about three quarters of them are in the possession of the Museum of Arab Art [=Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo today].<sup>207</sup>

In the Mahzor produced in Germany, perhaps in Heilbronn, between 1370 and 1400 (MS Kaufmann A 387), in connection with one of the prayers of the Day of Atonement the artist depicted the scene when the male figure, coming from the sanctuary in accordance with Leviticus 16:22 and traditional imagination, casts the scapegoat from the cliff into the abyss, to Azazel, who appears in our illustration as a horned and clawed mountain demon or devil (fig. 24).<sup>208</sup>

The shelf-marks MSS Kaufmann A 592, A 593 and A 594 indicate a collection of fragments from the Cairo Genizah,<sup>209</sup> approximately six-hundred fragments. They constitute an important collection of documents relating to all aspects of everyday life in medieval Egypt.

We do not know how Kaufmann acquired his fragments, he never wrote on this subject.<sup>210</sup> One of his students, Izidor Goldberger, tells us – and he may have heard this only from Kaufmann – that

<sup>207</sup> Keppel Archibald Cameron CRESWELL, *Architectural note*. In: Count Patrice DE ZOGHIEB, *Our home in Cairo*. With an architectural note by Professor K. A. C. CRESWELL. Alexandria [1941] 27-28. On the enamelled glass lamps see Max HERZ, *Le Musée National du Caire* = *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. Ser. 3, v. 28 (1902) 497-505. Idem, [*Gouvernement Égyptien. Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe.*] *Catalogue raisonné des monuments exposés dans le Musée National de l'Art Arabe précédé d'un aperçu de l'histoire de l'architecture et des arts industriels en Égypte*. Deuxième édition. Cairo 1906. 297-338. Idem, [*Egyptian Government. Commission for the Preservation of Monuments of Arab Art.*] *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Objects Exhibited in the National Museum of Arab Art Preceded by a Historical Sketch of the Architecture and Industrial Arts of the Arabs in Egypt*. Second edition. Transl. by G. FOSTER SMITH. Cairo 1907. 275-312. According to DIEZ the technique of the production of enamelled glass lamps passed from Iraq to Syria, then to Egypt and from there to Venice. Ernst DIEZ, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*. [2nd edition?] Wildpark-Potsdam [no date (after 1926)]. 191. Esin ATIL, *Renaissance of Islam. Art of the Mamluks*. Washington, D.C. 1981. 118-124, esp. 120-121. These lamps – like other Mamluk glass products – were imitated in Europe at the end of the 19th century. Ibid. 123. A shabbat-lamp of this type originating from Damascus, with Hebrew inscription, is preserved in the Jewish Museum in London. SED-RAJNA 1976. 126. (According to the caption the lamp is made of glass but it seems rather to be made of silver.)

<sup>208</sup> KAUFMANN 1898. 270. NARKISS – SED-RAJNA 1988. The Heilbronn Mahzor. Card No. 25. On Azazel see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Jerusalem – New York 1971-1972. III. 999-1000. *Bibel-Lexikon* 1981. 155-156 (s.v. Azazel).

<sup>209</sup> See now Stefan C. REIF, *A Jewish Archive from Cairo*. London 2000.

<sup>210</sup> SCHEIBER Sándor [=Alexander SCHEIBER], *A Kaufmann-geniza kutatása és jelentősége*.

He was among those who first wiped off the pitch-black dust of a thousand years from the papyrus leaves of the Cairo Genizah. And it was only the careless Hungarian connection that handed over these precious items to the University of Cambridge. The scholar's only consolation for the lost treasures was to admit that they went to a good place.<sup>211</sup>

It is worth noting that Goldberger is referring to a Hungarian connection, while Kaufmann uses the expression "Oriental friend" in his letter published by Schmelzer in his contribution to the present volume. Was he perhaps a Hungarian Jew? Scheiber succeeded in tracing Kaufmann's letters to Schechter in the possession of a dealer in London in 1975, where some clues to the solution of this question might have been found, but had no time to read them.<sup>212</sup> Scheiber acquired xerocopies of fifteen letters of Schechter written in London and Cambridge between 24 November 1889 and 15 December 1898 and sent to Kaufmann to various addresses in Budapest, Kojetein, Heringsdorf (Ostsee), Seebad Kolberg and Karlsbad ([Hotel] Belle Alliance). From these it appears that a very friendly relation existed between these two outstanding scholars. Schechter regularly informed Kaufmann of confidential matters. When following the death of Schiller-Sziessy the post of Reader in Rabbinic Literature became vacant at Cambridge University and Schechter applied for it in 1890, he requested Kaufmann for a letter of recommendation, a "testimonial," to attest his scholarly qualities and achievements and recommend him to this post. Kaufmann seems to have fulfilled this request because somewhat later Schechter thanked him most devotedly for the kind and appreciative "testimonial." Schechter supplied Kaufmann also with data concerning the family Gomperz. After the discovery of the Genizah, Schechter repeatedly informed Kaufmann of the richness of the material. Kaufmann seems to have requested Schechter to send him fragments – probably for inspection – but Schechter declined this request on the ground that the Trustees would not agree to a dispatch of the fragments overseas. Now and then Schechter requested copies of passages from Kaufmann's Mishnah codex. There were also many complaints against Adolf Neubauer, whom neither Kaufmann nor Schechter seemed to be particularly fond of.<sup>213</sup> Both of them were very keen on that Neubauer

[Research on the Kaufmann Genizah and its importance.] In: SCHEIBER Sándor, *Folklór és tárgytörténet*. Budapest 1977-1984. III. 501-502. Alexander SCHEIBER, *The Kaufmann-Genizah: Its Importance for the World of Scholarship*. In: *Jubilee Volume of the Oriental Collection 1951-1976*. Papers presented on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Ed. by Éva APOR. (Keleti Tanulmányok - Oriental Studies 2). Budapest 1978. 176-179.

<sup>211</sup> GOLDBERGER 1900. 19.

<sup>212</sup> SCHEIBER 1977-1984. III. 501-502. SCHEIBER 1978. 176.

<sup>213</sup> Cf. REIF 2000. 74-78, 83, 240.

would not have the possibility of seeing the fragments from the Genizah. Some letters are in the hand of the "secretary," Mathilde S. Schechter, Schechter's wife, who also wrote at least one very kind letter to Kaufmann, whom he wished to get acquainted with so much because she had heard so many good things about him from her husband. It is most thrilling to read Schechter's lines on his progress in sifting the Genizah material at Cambridge. The reader is reminded once again that no human being in this world is granted pure, unadulterated happiness: going through the Genizah material Schechter had to realize that a considerable part was in Arabic, a language he was completely ignorant of. He repeatedly complained to Kaufmann that he did not understand a word of this portion of the Genizah and asked him to go to Cambridge to help him.

Ludwig Blau recalled:

This treasure all but came to Budapest. The late David Kaufmann, professor at the Rabbinical Seminary, was negotiating for purchasing the complete geniza. He became deadly pale when he had learned that Schechter, who had travelled to Cairo for this purpose, had got it before him.<sup>214</sup>

This item of information must also have come from Kaufmann. He also mentions this himself in a remarkable letter recently discovered and published in the present volume by Hermann I. Schmelzer of Sankt Gallen. Scheiber still saw a cardboard box with the inscription in Kaufmann's hand: *Aus der Genisa einer egyptischen Synagoge. Di[enstag]. 11. Dec. 1894.*<sup>215</sup> This date precedes Schechter's visit by two years.

Is it perhaps due to pure chance that the most important Genizah collection in the whole world is not kept in the Oriental Collection today?

<sup>214</sup> BLAU Lajos [Ludwig BLAU], *Fosztat városa. Maimonides működésének színhelye* [The City of Fustat, the Stage of Maimonides' Activities] = Magyar-Zsidó Szemle 1938. 57. [Reprinted in:] BLAU Lajos, *Zsidók és a világkultúra*. [Jews and World Culture]. Ed. by János KÖBÁNYAI. Budapest 1999. 331.

<sup>215</sup> Alexander SCHEIBER, *Qetā'im hadašim mi-Sefer Talmuda rabba šel Yosef ben Ya'aqob habbli*. In: *Semitic Studies in Memory of Immanuel Löw*. Ed. by Alexander SCHEIBER. Budapest 1947. 164 [Hebrew section]. SCHEIBER 1977-1984. III. 502. SCHEIBER 1978. 179.

הפורש טעם והוא כדכריתו טעמתי  
 אחר כדכרית גשד מטמא במצנע ומשא  
 ובאה לרובין קצמות מטמא במצנע  
 ובמשא ובאה לרובין קצמות מטמא במצנע  
 רובין קצמות מטמא במצנע רובין קצמות  
 מטמא במצנע רובין קצמות מטמא במצנע  
 כל בשר המת שהוא פחות מכדי טהור  
 רוב בינינו רוב מיניו שלמה אחל  
 פי שאין בהן רובין טמאים יא  
 אמרו לו לו יהוה צען מה ראית לטהר  
 כשיהיה צל להן לאסא אמרתם גמית  
 שיש בו רוב ורובין ודקב האמין בחי  
 שאין בו רוב ורובין ודקב  
 פר 1 הל יא  
 הינד ר יהושע נר יצחק על פירוש  
 פטר חמור שמת שאין כאן לכהן מוכ  
 שר אליהו או חייבין באחר ויהי כחיש  
 סליעם שלכן וחכמיו אין חייבין כי  
 באחריותו כמדות מיעור שיש ב  
 הינד ר יצחק על פירושין טמאים  
 שהוא טהור שמי שנה ראשונה חבית  
 טמאים שניכבשו עיס חגבין טהור  
 לאפסלו את צורן ר הינד ר יצחק  
 על הווחלים שכל על הווחלים שהן  
 כשירין מעשה היה בזירת מליאקא  
 מעשה לפי חכב והכשירין ר הינד  
 ר יצחק על הווחלים ששליחן כלי  
 אגוז שהן כשירין מעשה היה מליאקא  
 ובא מעשה לוי שכת הגזית והכשירין

כדכרית בשר הפורש מה המת שכן  
 טמאתה יענם כשעורה הפורש ממנו  
 תיטמא כדכרית בשר הפורש מאבר מן  
 החי שכן טהורנה יענם כשעורה הפורש  
 ממנו ח אמרו לו לו נחונה מה  
 ראיתו לטמא יענם כשעורה הפורש  
 מאבר מן החי צל להן ממנו שאבר מן  
 החי כמת שלם מה המת יענם כשעורה  
 הפורש ממנו וכלא ואבר מן החי  
 יענם כשעורה הפורש ממנו יהי טמא  
 אמרו לו לא אס טמאתה יענם נשע  
 כשעורה הפורש מן חמת שכן טמא  
 טמאתה כדכרית בשר הפורש ממנו  
 תיטמא יענם כשעורה הפורש מאבר  
 מן החי שכן טהורנה כדכרית בשר  
 הפורש ממנו ח אמרו לו לו אליהן  
 מה ראיתו לחלוק מידתך או טמא  
 כשניהן או טהור כשניהן צל להן מחנה  
 טמאתה הפורש ממנו טמאתה הפורש  
 מה בשר נהג בבבילות ובשר יעם  
 מה שאין כן במצמות רבר אחד אבר  
 שיש עליו בשר כראוי מטמא במצנע  
 ובמשא ובאה חסר הבשר טמא  
 חסר יענם טהור ח אמרו לו לו  
 נחונה מה ראיתו לחלוק מידתך  
 או טמא כשניהן או טהור כשניהן  
 צל להן מרובה טמאתה יענמה  
 כ טמאתה הפורש מה בשר הפורש  
 מן החי טהור טהור לצר ואיבר  
 לה כפור

Fig.1. Mishna. "Eduyyot VI.3 – VII.4. MS Kaufmann A 50, p. 328.



Fig.2. Moses in front of the burning bush. Kaufmann Haggadah.  
MS Kaufmann A 422, fol. 59v.





Fig.3. The death of the first-born: a burial. Kaufmann Haggadah.  
MS Kaufmann A 422, fol. 1v.



Fig.4. Two figures kneeling and praying. Kaufmann Haggadah.  
MS Kaufmann A 422, fol. 26r.





Fig.5. David and Goliath. MAIMONIDES, *Mishneh Torah*.  
MS Kaufmann A 77, vol. II. fol. 118r.

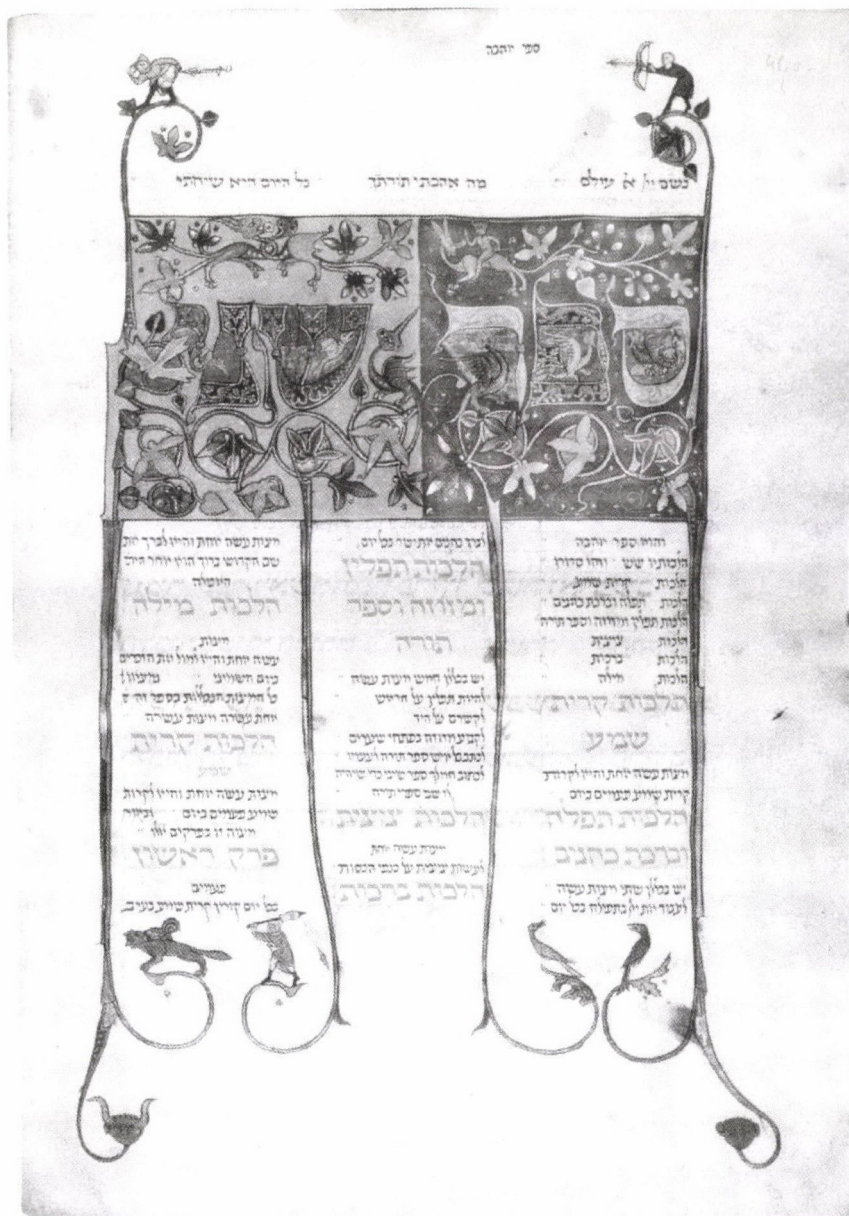


Fig.1.6 MAIMONIDES, *Mishneh Torah*. The front page of Book Two: *The Book of Adoration/Love*. MS Kaufmann A 77, vol. I. fol. 46v.

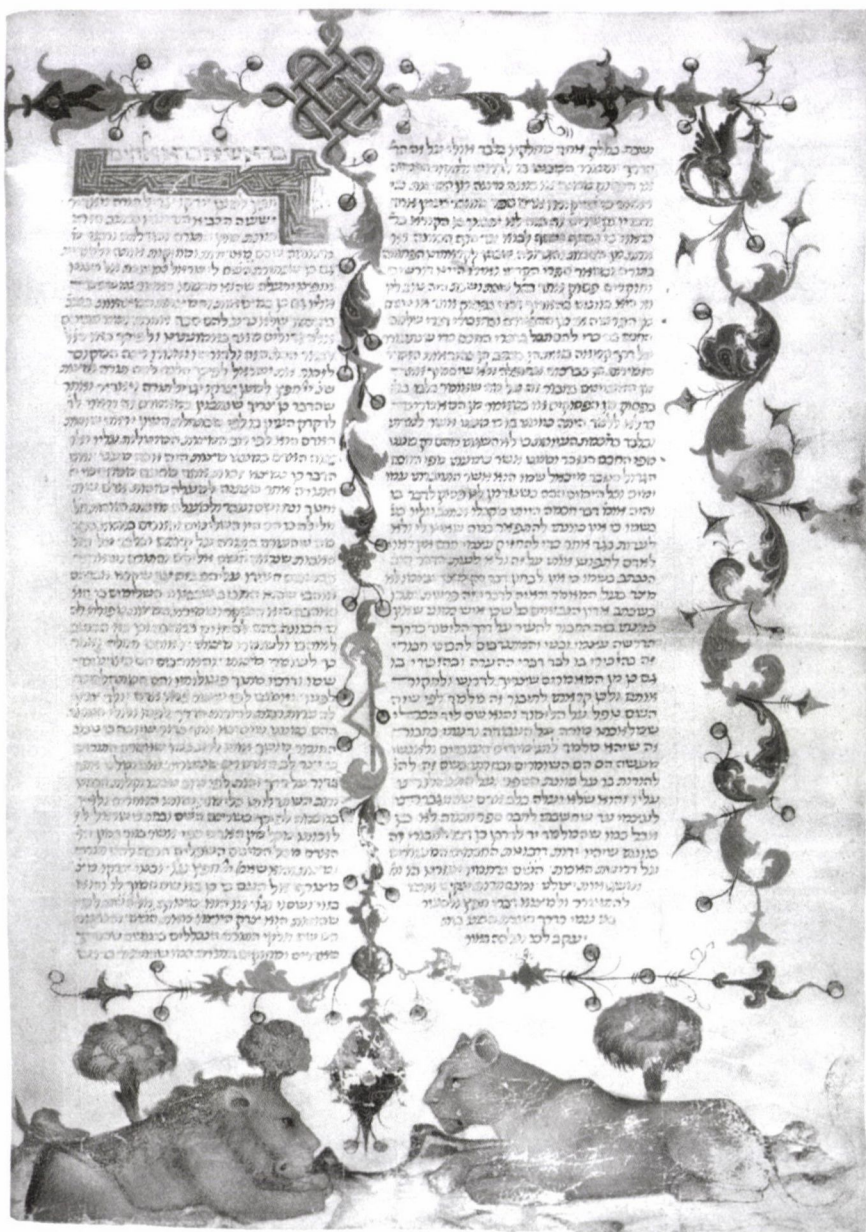


Fig.7. JACOB BEN ABBAMARE, *Malmed ha-talimidim*.  
MS Kaufmann A 278, fol. 4v.





Fig.8. MAIMONIDES, *Mishneh Torah*. The front page of *The Book of Knowledge*. MS Kaufmann A 78, vol. I. fol. 8v.



Fig.9. Decorated initial from the Tripartite Mahzor Vol. I.  
MS Kaufmann A 384, fol. 103v.



Fig.10. The sign of Gemini and the labour of the month of Siwan.  
Tripartite Mahzor vol. I. MS Kaufmann A 384, fol. 143r.





Fig.11. The sign of Cancer and the labour of the month of Tammuz.  
Tripartite Mahzor vol. I. MS Kaufmann A 384, fol. 143r.



Fig.12. The sign of Scorpion and the labour of the month of Marheshwan.  
 Tripartite Mahzor vol. I. MS Kaufmann A 384, fol. 144v.



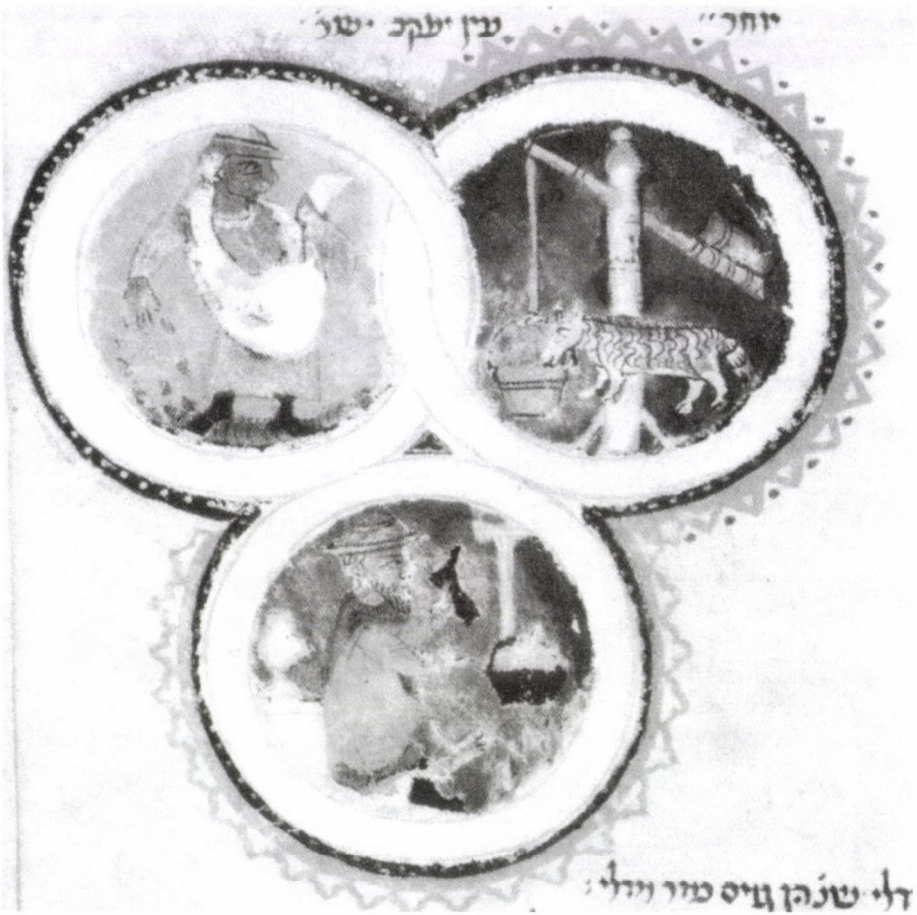
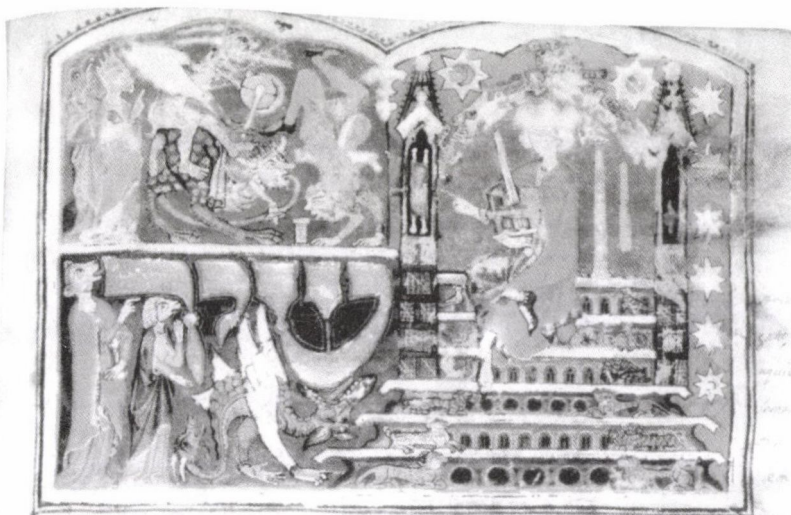


Fig.13. The combined sign of Capricorn and Aquarius and the labours of the months of Tevet and Shevat.

Tripartite Mahzor vol. I. MS Kaufmann A 384, fol. 145r.



הַיְיִרִים אֲשֶׁר לְשִׁמּוֹן  
יִשְׁלָחַי מִנְּשִׁיחֹת בֵּיתוֹ  
כִּי יִבְרָכֻם דָּוִד מִיִּין  
לְדֹה שְׂמִינֶךְ טֹיִבִּים  
שִׁבְחַת הַיְהוָה שְׂמִד עֹלָם  
עַל מִית אֲהִיבֶנּוּ מִשְׁכַּנִּי  
אֲחִירֶנּוּ בְּרִיעַ הַבֵּית  
הַמֶּלֶךְ חֲדָרְיוֹ נִגְלִי נֶגֶם  
וְנִשְׁמַח חֲמֵד נִכְרִיחֶנּוּ  
מִיִּין שְׂרָרִים אֲהִיבֶנּוּ  
שִׁחֲרָה אֲנִי וְנִאֲחֶה מֵהַ  
יְרוּשָׁלַם כְּחֵלְיוֹ קֶדֶר  
מִרְעוֹת שְׂלֵמָה אֶל

[illegible]

Fig.14. King Solomon on his throne.  
Tripartite Mahzor vol. I. MS Kaufmann A 384, fol. 183v.



Fig.15. The Exodus from Egypt. Kaufmann Haggadah.  
MS Kaufmann A 422, fol. 43r.





Fig.16. Decoration in the margin of the Kaufmann Haggadah.  
MS Kaufmann A 422, fol. 37v.



Fig.17. Decoration in the margin of the Kaufmann Haggadah.  
MS Kaufmann A 422, fol. 19v.



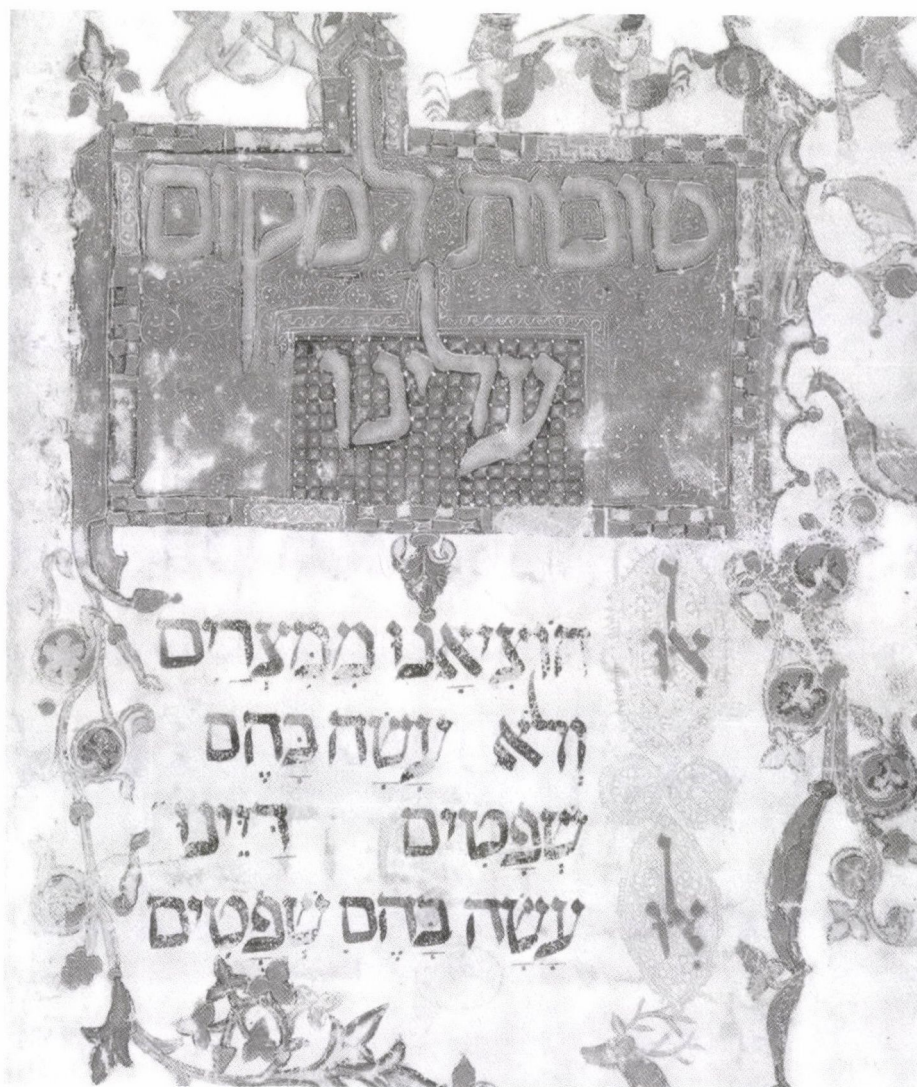


Fig.18. Decoration in the margin of the Kaufmann Haggadah.  
MS Kaufmann A 422, fol. 34v.



Fig.19. Man leading the Pesach lamb on a lead. Kaufmann Haggadah.  
MS Kaufmann A 422, fol. 38r.



Fig.20. The evil boy from the Kaufmann Haggadah.  
MS Kaufmann A 422, fol. 18v.



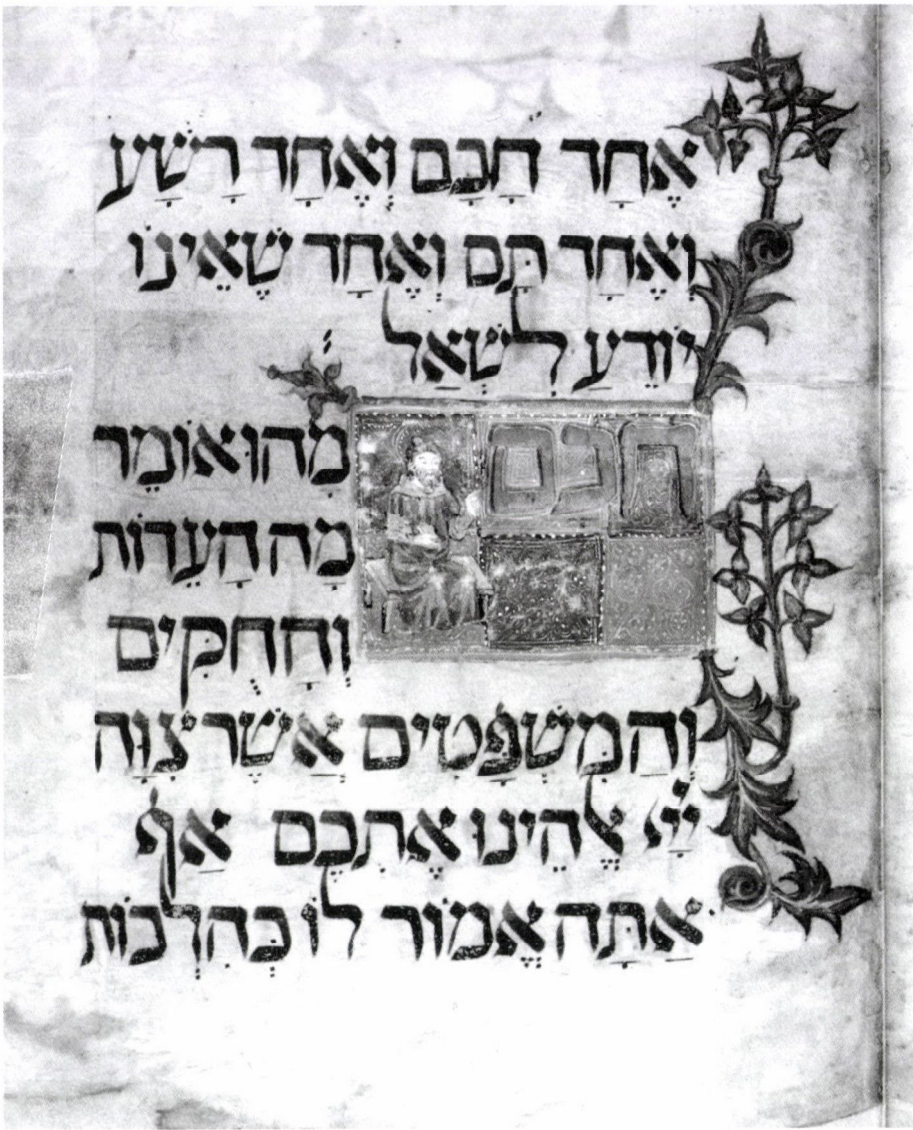


Fig.21. The wise boy from the Kaufmann Haggadah.  
MS Kaufmann A 422, fol. 18r.



Fig.22. Two scenes from the infancy of Moses. Kaufmann Haggadah.  
MS Kaufmann A 422, fol. 9v.





Fig.23. Interior of a synagogue. Kaufmann Haggadah.  
MS Kaufmann A 422, fol. 42r.



Fig.24. The scapegoat.  
MS Kaufmann A 387, fol. 350v.



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